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## **ABSTRACT**

The maintenance of civil order in Guernsey's pre-Reformation community was regulated by a variety of secular institutions, the most important of which was the Royal Court. Religious beliefs and practices helped to reinforce stability and legitimized traditional authority. Catholic practice, including charity and the activities of numerous fraternities – not hitherto noticed in Guernsey – engendered social cohesion. Any major changes in the island's religious life threatened this traditional polity. When religious alterations loomed in the wake of Henrician and Edwardian changes in England, the Guernsey authorities chose to conceal religious revenues and subvert English intentions. Traditional practices and institutions predominated until the reign of Elizabeth – a finding which contradicts previous studies. In the fifteen-sixties, however, the English Government appointed a series of commissions to seize Catholic dues and close down traditional institutions. The commissioners favoured local Protestants materially, and in 1565 elevated some of them to the Royal Court. The possibilities offered by a Calvinist system of social control appealed to the island's elite group. Calvinist organisation facilitated the enforcement of discipline, Catholic revenues were turned to private and secular purposes, and the elite retained power. The new Church depended on the secular authorities for its survival; it needed magistrates to allow foreign ministers to settle, to educate local ones, and to fend off the threat of an imposed settlement in line with the English settlement of 1559. The Church also repeatedly requested the Court to enact legislation in line with Calvinist principles, which it did. Although the records do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis, it is clear however that the Court often neglected to enforce such legislation. The Church's own remedies frequently were inadequate and ineffective. The secular power responded more positively in other areas. The Church's role in succouring the poor was encouraged, and the elite itself benefited materially as a consequence of Calvinist ideas. But the price paid for the retention of the elite's control and the material advantages it gained was the failure of the Calvinist dream and increased cultural differentiation in the community.

# REFORMATION AND SOCIETY IN GUERNSEY

c. 1500 – c. 1640

(the first of two volumes)

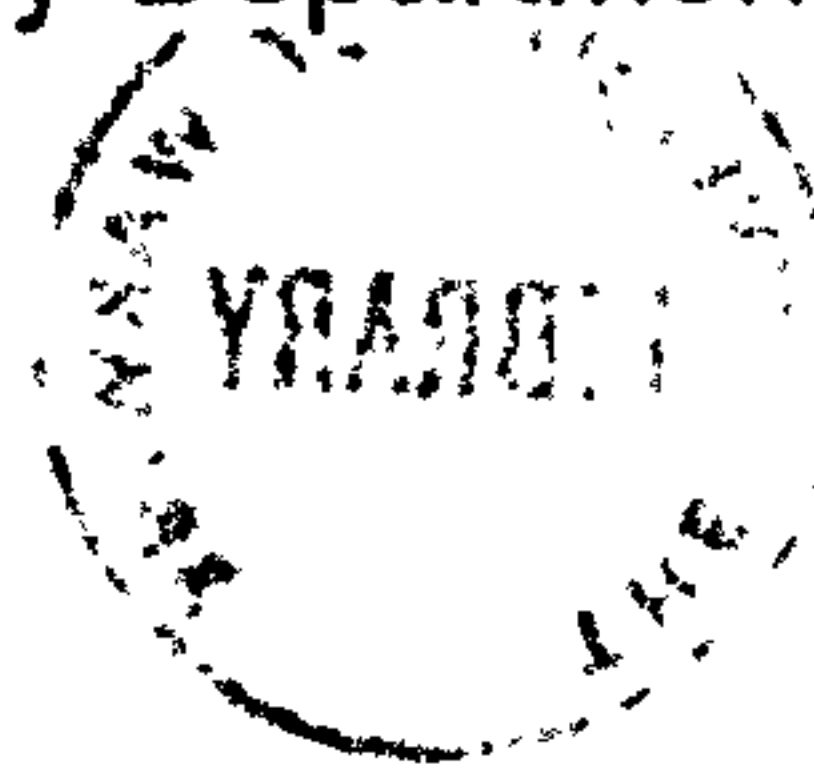
Darryl Mark Ogier

submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy to the

University of Warwick

(History Department)



September 1993

## FRONTISPIECE

S. Pierre Port

from the north, c. 1680

The general appearance of the town probably differed little in the early sixteenth century, save that the pier shown here was built in Elizabethan times and, when the picture was made, Castle Cornet's keep was still in ruins after the great explosion of 1672.

The parish church of S. Pierre Port, numerous narrow-gabled warehouses along the shoreline and the windmill at l'Hyvreuse are to be seen.

(BL King's MS 48 ff. 23v–24r, by permission of the British Library,  
and with thanks to Carel Toms for the loan of his print)



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At Guernsey's record office, the Greffe, Her Majesty's Greffier Ken Tough has allowed me access to all relevant records and taken a kindly interest in my work, as has Deputy Greffier Sam Clapp. Nor can I let the help I have received from the historical collections, now at the Greffe, of the Rev. G.E. Lee (d. 1912) go unmentioned. I was recently honoured to be appointed deputy Archiviste de la Cour Royale.

At the Priaulx Library, Guernsey, Dr Harry Tomlinson and his staff have been most helpful, and Dr Tomlinson has repeatedly placed his profound knowledge of French and Guernsey French patois at my disposal.

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Other friends who have read my work, commented on it or provided other help and support are Dr Marie Axton, Dr Richard Axton, Dr Henry Cohn, the late Norma Goodsir, Dr Ian Hart, Adv. John Langlois, Gill Lenfestey, John McCormack, Jason St John Nicolle, Julian Ogier, Andrew Spicer, and Gregory Stevens Cox. Still other kindnesses are acknowledged in the notes.

Finally, my gratitude to my parents is exceeded only by my gratitude to my wife, Alison.

### Conventions

Dates are Old Style, but adjusted to a year beginning 1 January. Translations from the French are my own, unless otherwise indicated. In quotations, standard abbreviations have been expanded silently. Otherwise original spellings and punctuation have been retained. The modern dedications of Guernsey's parishes have been discarded in favour of the particular usage of the period under discussion.

In the notes I have not cited the dates and places of publication of secondary works, since, to quote Peter Gwyn, who adopts a similar economy in The King's Cardinal, "the secondary sources relate very precisely to the bibliography at the back". A like

convention applies to articles published in the Economic History Review. I have had few qualms following these august precedents.



## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Actes</u>	<u>Actes des États de l'île de Guernesey</u> <u>1605 à 1651</u> (Guernsey, 1851)
<u>Add</u>	<u>Addenda</u>
<u>APC</u>	J.R. Dasent <u>et al</u> (eds) <u>Acts of the</u> <u>Privy Council of England</u> (new series, 46 vols, London 1890–1964)
BL	British Library, London
<u>BSHPE</u>	<u>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du</u> <u>protestantisme français</u>
<u>BSJ</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise</u>
Cecil	Cecil Papers in the Salisbury MSS, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire

Chroniques

"Les Chroniques, &c., de l'île de Jersey" (late sixteenth-century) in G. Syvret (ed.) Chroniques, des îles de Jersey, Guernesey, Aureigny et Serk, auquel on a ajouté un abrégé historique des dites îles (Guernsey, 1832)

Coll.

Papier ou liure des Colloques des Eglises de Guernezey (MS minutes of the Guernsey Colloquy, 1585–1619, Priaux Library, Guernsey)

Commission 1607 i

Reglemens des Commissaires Royaux, envoyé par S.M. le Roi Jaques I. l'Année 1607 (Documens relatifs à l'île de Guernesey – Revus et corriges d'apres les pieces originales. No. 1) (Guernsey, 1814)

Commission

1607 ii

Causes heard, ordered, and determined, at St. Peter-Port, in the Island of Guernsey, before Robert Gardner, Kt., and James Hussey, L.D. His Majesty's Commissioners, from the 16th October, to the 20th December, 1607 (Documens relatifs à l'île de Guernesey - Revus et corrigés d'après les pièces originales. No. 2) (Guernsey, 1814)

cons SA

G.E. Lee (ed.) Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise de St-André en l'île de Guernesey 1615 à 1655 (bound with Discipline Ecclesiastique des Iles de la Manche 1576 et 1597, Guernsey, 1885)

cons SM

Rolle dez Actes du Consistoire de St Martin (1627-55, MS at St Martin's Rectory, Guernsey) (not paginated)

Coutances extracts	G.E. Lee (ed.), "Extraits des Registres du Secrétariat de l'Évêché de Coutances 1487–1557" <u>BSJ</u> xiv (1889)
<u>CPR</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls</u>
<u>CSPD</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic</u>
Disc 1576	<u>Police et Discipline Ecclésiastique de 1576</u> in F. de Schickler <u>Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre</u> (3 vols, Paris, 1892) vol. iii pp. 311–356
Disc 1597	G.E. Lee (ed.) <u>Discipline Ecclesiastique des Iles de la Manche 1576 et 1597</u> (bound with <u>Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise de St-André en l'Ile de Guernesey 1615 à 1655</u> , Guernsey, 1885)

Disc (trans)

The Orders for Ecclesiastical Discipline. According to that which hath been practised since the Reformation of the Church in his Majesties Dominions by the auncient Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Iles of Garnsey, Gersy, Spark [sic] and Alderney, Confirmed by the Authoritie of the Synode of the foresaid Iles (Wing O399, trans. anon., London, 1642)

DNB

L. Stephen and S. Lee (eds)  
Dictionary of National Biography (63 vols, London, 1885–1901)

DWL

Dr Williams's Library, London

FH

Finch Hatton Papers,  
Northamptonshire Record Office

Greffe

The Greffe, Guernsey

GLJ

Guernsey Law Journal

Hatton

a seventeenth-century MS treatise on Guernsey by Christopher, first viscount Hatton (list i/52/58). This was long mis-attributed to John Warburton but see now R. Clark "Mr Warburton's Treatise on the History, Laws and Customs of Guernsey" ISG xxi (1984), and D.M. Ogier "The Authorship of Warburton's Treatise" ISG xxii (1990)

IAS

Island Archives Service, Guernsey

Institutes

J. Calvin Institutes of the Christian Religion (J.T. McNeill [ed.], F.L. Battles [trans.], 2 vols, Philadelphia, 1960)

Jersey minutes

Jersey Colloquy minutes 1577–1614 (Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.11.43) (microfilm at IAS)



- list i J.H. le Patourel et al (eds) List of Documents in the Greffe, Guernsey volume i (List and Index Society Special Series vol. 2, London, 1969)
- list ii J.H. Lenfestey (ed.) List of Documents in the Greffe, Guernsey volume ii: documents under Bailiwick seal (List and Index Society Special Series vol. 11, London, 1978)
- list iii J.H. Lenfestey (ed.) List of Documents in the Greffe, Guernsey volume 3. Greffe Collection: records under sign manual, signature or seal (other than the Bailiwick seal) (Guernsey, 1983)

[list iv] J.H. Lenfestey (ed.) List of Documents in the Greffe, Guernsey volume 4: the de Sausmarez collection (Guernsey, forthcoming).  
This remains in draft and when published will have different pagination. However, a copy of the draft will remain next to the de Sausmarez collection at the Greffe.

(The Greffe is Guernsey's record office. It is impossible to find one's way around its collections without these lists. References to them here recite the list reference, followed by page reference, followed by item number: eg. "list i/35/101" refers to list i, page 35, item 101. In references to volumes a fourth figure recording the page or folio number is added)

LP J. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie (eds) Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–47 (21 vols and add, London, 1864–1932)

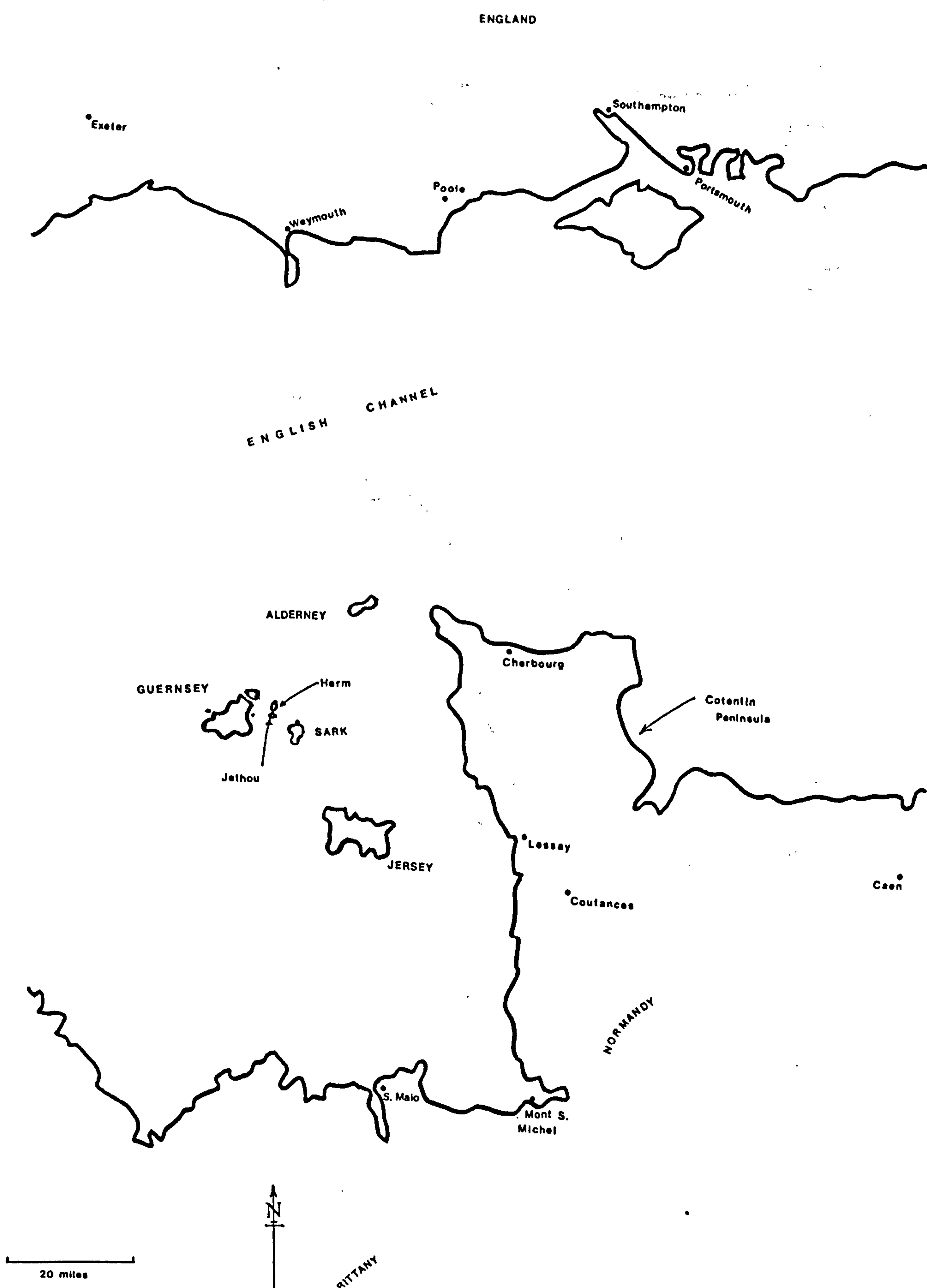
MS(S) manuscript(s)

<u>OED</u>	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary</u> (second edn, Oxford, 1991)
<u>Ordonnances</u>	R. MacCulloch (ed.) <u>Recueil d'Ordonnances de la Cour Royale de Guernesey</u> vol. i, 1533–1800 (Guernsey, 1852)
<u>P Hug S</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society</u>
Priaulx	Priaulx Library, Guernsey
PRO	Public Record Office, London
<u>P &amp; P</u>	<u>Past &amp; Present</u>
<u>RDM</u>	<u>Revue du Département de la Manche</u>
<u>Sark Calendar</u>	M. Axton and R. Axton (eds) <u>Calendar and Catalogue of Sark Seigneurie Archive 1526–1927</u> (List and Index Society Special Series vol. 26, London, 1991)

SP	State Papers (PRO)
<u>Statutes</u>	A. Luders <u>et al</u> (eds) <u>Statutes of the Realm</u> (11 vols, London, 1810–28)
<u>STC</u>	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (eds) <u>A Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland &amp; Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640</u> (revised by W.A. Jackson <u>et al</u> , 3 vols, London, 1986–91)
<u>TRHS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</u>
<u>ISG</u>	<u>Transactions of la Société Guernesiaise</u> (until 1922 the Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research)

Wing

D. Wing (ed.) Short-title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English books printed in other countries 1641–1700 (2nd edition, 3 vols, New York, 1972–88)



Map One



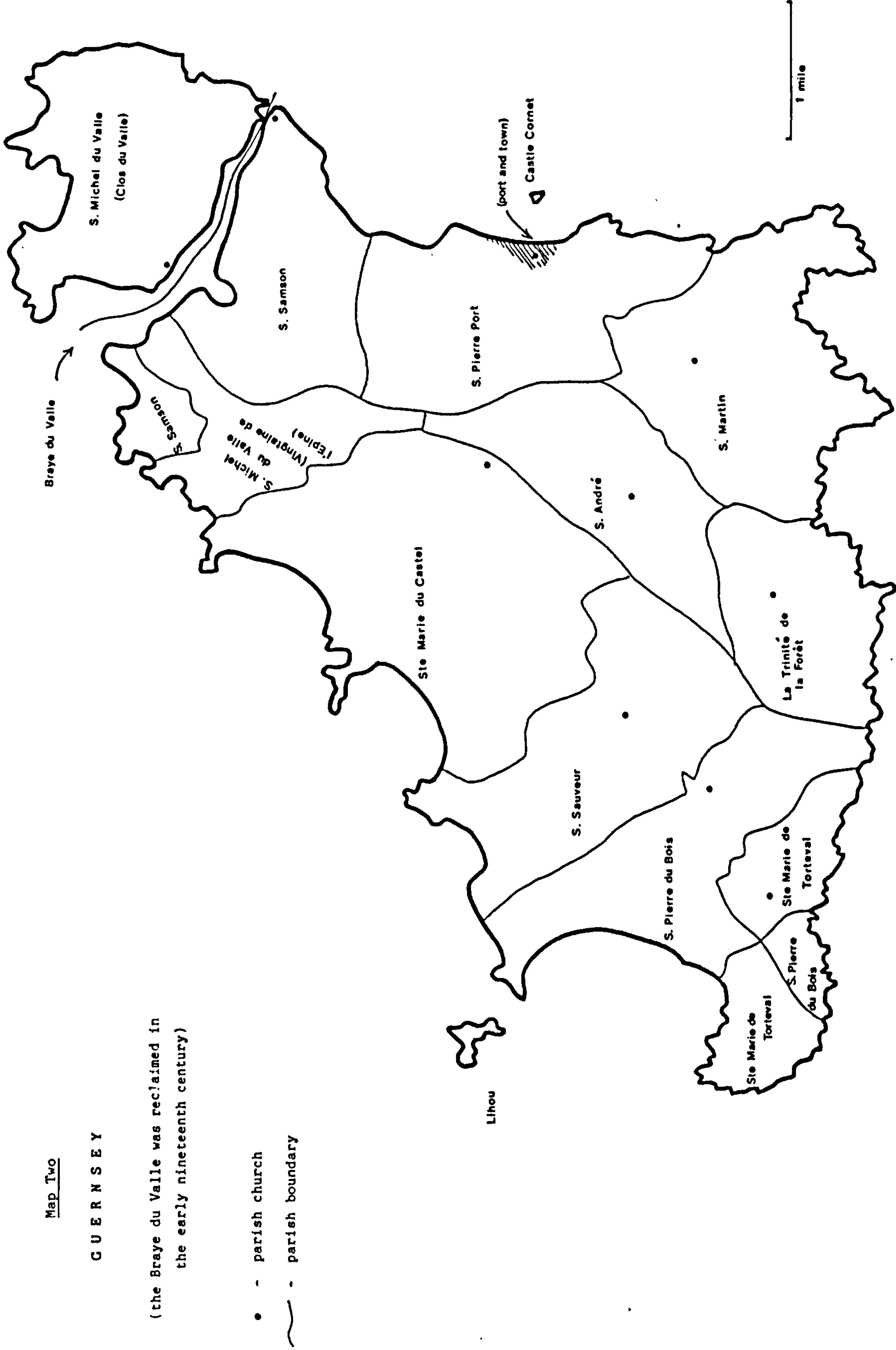
Map Two

G U E R N S E Y

(the Braye du Valle was reclaimed in  
the early nineteenth century)

• - parish church

— - parish boundary



## **PART ONE**

### **THE CATHOLIC POLITY AND ITS PASSING**

## Chapter One

### THE ORDER OF ISLAND LIFE: SECULAR

Early Modern Guernsey is not as well known as it might be, not least because this century has seen only two academic histories touching on the Reformation period in the island. These are A.J. Eagleston's The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 (1949) and the economic symposium A People of the Sea edited by Dr Jamieson (1986). The former deals from an English viewpoint with the diplomatic aspects of ruling the island group of which Guernsey forms part. The latter work surveys the archipelago's maritime trade over a long period.

Without repeating the material and conclusions of these studies, it is therefore necessary in this introductory chapter to sketch something of the state of the island on the eve of the Reformation. This will place the discussion of religious change in context.

#### Geography and population

Guernsey is the second largest of the Channel Islands. These

are in the Bay of Mont S. Michel, within sight of the Cotentin peninsula of Normandy (see Map One). Although possessing considerable autonomy as remnants of the Norman Empire, the Islands ultimately were subject to the authority of the English Crown. Some lesser islands in turn were governed from Guernsey (its Bailiwick), including Alderney and Sark. Like the separate Bailiwick of Jersey, these have their own, different, histories.

Guernsey has an area of approximately twenty-four square miles, divided into ten parishes. These were established as co-terminous civil and religious entities by medieval times (see Map Two). Its pre-Reformation population, which was French-speaking, was under ten thousand, most of whom were involved in farming or fishing, or both.<sup>1</sup> There was also a merchant community, which occupied an important place in local affairs and government, concentrated at S. Pierre Port, on the east coast. S. Pierre Port is the island's only town. It is seventy-five miles from Weymouth, and 113 from Southampton.<sup>2</sup>

The town was also the focus of internal trade (the island's market was held outside S. Pierre Port Church) and the seat of the civil administration, legislature and judiciary, concentrated in the Cour Royale or Royal Court. The port c. 1680 is shown in the

frontispiece. Its appearance can have been little different in the previous century.

### The vitality of trade

It has recently been asserted by J.C. Appleby that "for much of the sixteenth century ... the overseas trade of the [Channel] Islands remained exceedingly limited". Dr Appleby goes on to suggest that in the first half of the period 1500–1689 exports were mainly agricultural products and fish, "occasionally supplemented by small amounts of wheat and linen cloth".<sup>3</sup>

Yet whilst trade in the early sixteenth century may have been smaller than in later periods, it is misleading to regard it as limited or unimportant. A strong tradition of mercantile activity at S. Pierre Port dated from medieval times, when the port had been a stopping-off point on the route between France – especially Gascony – and England.<sup>4</sup> It continued in this role: sixteenth-century merchants liked to sail within sight of land and in daytime as much as their medieval predecessors had done. The sea roads off S. Pierre Port were a day's sailing from France and they enjoyed the protection of Castle Cornet. The port also had a natural advantage as "an harbour able to contain the greatest Navy that ever sailed upon the Ocean; fenced from the fury of the



winds by the Isles of Guernzey, Jet-how, Serke and Arvie" (Herm).<sup>5</sup> These geographical considerations, and the neutrality and rights of free trade existing in times of war, referred to in the next chapter, attracted many merchants to the port.

Dr Appleby refers to agricultural products, fish and cloth as goods most commonly exported. Trade in all of these was far from moribund. The usual export of corn is suggested by bans on doing so, for example, in 1535 and 1539 and on other occasions.<sup>6</sup> In 1543, when such a ban was lifted, the Court decreed that corn might be sent both to England and Spain.<sup>7</sup> A quantity of fish, besides the local catch, also passed through S. Pierre Port. By the 1520s Guernsey merchants were shipping cod from Newfoundland to England.<sup>8</sup>

Cargoes of cloth too were more regularly shipped and in greater variety and quantity than Dr Appleby allows. He himself has described how "in May 1536 the Jesus of Guernsey brought a cargo of 7 tons of salt, 2 bolts of Vitry canvas and 2 tuns of wine into Plymouth, departing a few days later with a cargo of tin".<sup>9</sup> There is nothing to suggest that this was not a typical voyage. The Guernsey merchant who owned the Jesus presumably used it regularly. Metals also formed parts of cargoes. The transport of tin in 1536 has just been mentioned, and Thomas Compton



and his associates are known to have traded in the same commodity in 1523.<sup>10</sup> In 1544 a licence was obtained for no fewer than a thousand tons of foreign cloth, tin, and lead to be shipped through the island in wartime.<sup>11</sup>

Wine too was traded. French wines from a number of ports – Bordeaux, S. Malo, Granville, La Rochelle, Nantes and Calais – were regularly imported to England and other places via Guernsey. In "1504, for example, the Christofle left Bordeaux with a cargo of 17 tuns of wine for Guernsey and Cherbourg".<sup>12</sup> This vessel may well have been the Christopher which belonged to James Guille (the chief magistrate, or bailiff, 1511–38) and Nicholas Careye. In 1529, the Christopher was trading with Dublin and Drogheda in Ireland in iron, wine and salt.<sup>13</sup> In 1505 the Maraquese of Guernsey had left Bordeaux with seventeen tuns for the same places.<sup>14</sup>

The significance of the Guernsey trade to the burghers of Southampton is indicated by that fact that in 1515 James Guille and "dyvers other merchauntts" of the island obtained reduced tolls there on condition that they used Southampton in preference to Poole.<sup>15</sup> All the same, Poole found favour enough to see the import in 1538 by merchants of Guernsey and Brittany of some £30,000 worth of linen cloth.<sup>16</sup>

The Southampton burghers' grant of 1515 mentions canvas, "oleronds", "cressecloth or dowles" and Normandy canvas. For many years these goods were brought to the town in substantial quantities by Guernsey merchants. Interests in Southampton were so extensive that some Guernsey merchants took up residence there. Dr Appleby reminds us that Thomas Fashin (Fouaschin) of an island family was mayor of Southampton in 1545.<sup>17</sup> Professor Platt confirms that Fouaschin was the mayor's free burgess 1531–32, and sheriff of the town 1541–42.<sup>18</sup> The Guernseyman Thomas Devyck was mayor of Southampton in 1504. At Poole his countryman James Havyland was mayor at dates between 1494 and 1506, as was William Mesurer in 1505.<sup>19</sup> These Guernseymen undoubtedly were connected with these ports through their involvement in the important trade with their native island.

A similar commercial mentality characterised merchants at home. This is evidenced by their merchants' marks, which were often used to counterseal documents published by the Royal Court, which the merchant elite served as bailiffs and jurats (permanent jurymen and legislators). Thomas Compton, a ship owner in the 1520s and the Captain's lieutenant and bailiff 1538–45, and again 1563–71, even used a picture of a barrel on his counterseal.<sup>20</sup> Besides revealing a taste for puns, this indicates his involvement

in trade.

More concrete evidence of the vitality of trade at S. Pierre Port is found in a Court ordinance of 11 January 1537. This banned the dumping of ballast on the shore at S. Pierre Port, referring to "the small pier" (la petite cauchee), a name which infers the existence of a grande cauchee as well.<sup>21</sup> That the dumping of ballast at the anchorage was seen to be a problem indicates that a good deal of commercial activity went on. It also demonstrates that some vessels, sometimes, must have taken away more from the island than they brought in.

Finally, successive Royal charters conceded commercial privileges in English ports to Guernsey merchants.<sup>22</sup> The Bull of Neutrality of 1481 (discussed in Chapter Two) similarly was a response to the needs of a trading community.

Thus on the eve of the Reformation the island's trade was far from insignificant and its merchants were active. Commerce was carried on in a variety of both local and foreign goods, including cloth, wines and metals, through the island's entrepôt. Local ships traded not only with England and France, but as far away as Newfoundland, Ireland and Spain.



## Government and Administration

Having briefly sketched Guernsey's geography and commercial situation one might now turn to some of those local official bodies which together made up what has been called an "institutional expression of social relations".<sup>23</sup>

### (i) Constitutional relations

At the summit of sixteenth-century secular hierarchies there almost invariably stood the figure of the prince. Guernsey was no exception, and the island's secular institutions were ultimately subject to the monarchy established in England. The relationship was regulated by custom. After King John lost the Norman mainland the Channel Islands were all that was left of his Norman dominions. Whilst their constitutions continued to evolve, relations between the English Crown and Guernsey were based on the convention that the Channel Islands were governed according to their Norman privileges, laws and customs. This status is reflected in Royal charters.<sup>24</sup> The Channel Islands also remained in the Norman Diocese of Coutances.

Nonetheless, although the Islands were not represented in them, English parliaments did have a role in their affairs. Some

sixteenth-century statutes were framed to apply in Guernsey and Jersey, to be obeyed on the basis that they were commands of the monarch, in the role of duke of Normandy.

In practice some legislation naming the Islands seems to have been ignored or subverted, as we shall see happening in the case of Edwardian acts concerning religion. Other laws, like Elizabeth's general pardon of 1566, were obeyed. Others which did not name the Islands appear nonetheless to have been welcomed and enforced. For example, the beginning of witch trials in Guernsey coincided with the English act of 1563 against witchcraft. The English statute of 1531 regulating sanctuary, which did not even name the Islands, appears to have been adopted in an excess of enthusiasm, and taken by Guernsey's Royal Court as a mandate to abolish the privilege altogether.<sup>25</sup>

## (ii) The Captain

The English Privy Council was regularly involved in Guernsey's affairs. Its concerns in the pre-Reformation period largely were with the Captain of the island and his military duties. This officer represented the power of the English Crown "in the field". He was the successor to a medieval warden (custos or gardien), and the predecessor of the governors and lieutenant governors of

more recent times.<sup>26</sup>

Some Captains were resident in Guernsey, others were not. There is no record that Richard Weston, the Captain from 1509,<sup>27</sup> or his successor Sir Richard Long (who probably assumed office in 1539) ever visited the island.<sup>28</sup> In these circumstances a lieutenant was appointed.

The Captain's duties – delegated or not – lay primarily in the defence of the Bailiwick and the administration of Castle Cornet, just offshore from S. Pierre Port. An English garrison customarily was stationed at the Castle to guard the mainland and watch over the sea roads.<sup>29</sup> The Captain also maintained a fort – the Tour de Beauregard – above S. Pierre Port. He further appears to have been responsible for the organisation of a militia. Unfortunately no early records naming such a body survive, but the existence of archery butts (buttes) is attested from medieval times in nine of the ten parishes,<sup>30</sup> and a law of 1543 protected bows, crossbows and other arms from seizure in debt actions.<sup>31</sup> Taken with an order of 1546 aimed at the parish captains,<sup>32</sup> who organised defence in their localities, these facts point to a militia existing in the early fifteen-hundreds.

Captains were also active in collecting intelligence in the Islands



from local and visiting merchants, and from France. They also supported the suits of the inhabitants of Guernsey, sometimes swayed by a wish to protect their own financial interests or responsibilities. Thus the 1544 licence enabling the use of Guernsey as an entrepôt for cloth and metals in time of war was granted at the suit of Long.<sup>33</sup> Such an act could benefit the island's economy generally and also protected the maritime dues which the Captain and Crown's Receiver in the island administered.

Other responsibilities of the Captain included the advowsons of the parish churches. These had been owned by French (mostly Norman) religious houses before the expulsion of the Alien Priors from English territories in the early fifteenth century. Thereupon they devolved to the Crown, and appointment was exercised by the Captain.<sup>34</sup>

There were other miscellaneous duties. For example, the lieutenant Thomas Compton helped with the completion of the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1535, and the following year he closed Guernsey's only friary on the orders of Thomas Cromwell.<sup>35</sup> Captains very likely also worked with the Receiver, collecting Royal revenues and appropriated tithes. Whether the Captain was further responsible, as was the case later on, for the



transmission of Royal letters, Council commands and English statutes to the island, is unknown, although such a thing is most likely.

The Captains or their lieutenants were also involved on some occasions in promoting legislation in concert with the Royal Court and the assembly of parish representatives called the estatz. This is revealed in the preamble to an ordinance of the Royal Court of 1538 concerning weights and prices. This, it states, originated "from monsieur the King's lieutenant, and the jurats [of the Royal Court], with the estatz of the country".<sup>36</sup> In later years the Captain interfered in the business of the Royal Court and estatz with some regularity and as of right. Even if the situation in pre-Reformation times was dissimilar, his opinions and the island's military interests must always have been taken into account in matters of legislation and in reaching judgements.

The Captain then, directly or through his lieutenant, represented the English presence in the local polity. He was responsible for maintaining the allegiance of the community to the Crown through his military and administrative activities. He was a symbol of English hegemony and at the same time a working official commanding the island's defences and participating in its government.

### (iii) The Royal Court

The Captain clearly had important duties. However, the internal government, administration and the day-to-day maintenance of law and order rested overwhelmingly with Guernsey's Royal Court.

#### a. membership <sup>37</sup>

The Court was presided over by the bailiff (baillif), who was appointed for life. He was the chief magistrate and the island's leading citizen. Twelve permanent jurors (the jurés or jurats) sat under his presidency. The jurats reputed themselves "twelve of the most notable and discerning, wise, loyal and rich men in the said island [Douze Hommez dez plus notablez et discrez sages loyaulx et Riches en la dicte ysle]"<sup>38</sup> They tended to be landowners and merchants, drawn from a few leading families.<sup>39</sup>

Of the Court's subordinate officers, there was a prevost (prévôt), who made arrests of property and persons, appeared before the Court in place of defaulters, and had other executive duties. A clerk of the court (the clerc or greffier) and a body of advocates also existed. The Crown's legal officers were the procureur and his junior, the controle. A sergent delivered summonses, and, on

occasion, published laws by announcing them in the market place (au cry du marchy).

b. the Court's functions

The Royal Court's origins pre-dated the English loss of Normandy, indeed Normandy's acquisition of England. In many respects it remained a "Norman institution" and was guided in its work by the customary law of the Duchy.<sup>40</sup>

The concept of "separation of powers" was alien to the Guernsey community, and legal, legislative and executive functions were combined in the work of the Court. One of its principal duties was to make judgements in both civil and criminal cases. It was also responsible for taking notice of and enforcing English regulations and statutes which applied in the island.

Besides this it enacted much legislation on its own initiative. This was done through passing ordinances, most commonly at the October (S. Michiel or Michelmas) session of the thrice-yearly Court sittings known as Les Ples Capitulx (later called Chefs Plaids). Once made, ordinances appear technically to have remained in force for twelve months. However, groups of them very often were re-enacted from year to year wholesale. The



Court sometimes declared other ordinances which had been made some time previously to be void (eslargy), which confirms that they would otherwise have continued although not technically renewed.<sup>41</sup> In practice then (throughout the period covered by this study) much nominally annual legislation, whether formally renewed or not, was effective over a longer period, and some ordinances through usage ended up as parts of the coûtume of the Court.

Sometimes, though rarely, the Court made ordinances in concert with the body called the estatz, mentioned briefly above. This was an assembly of parish representatives: the connêtables or constables and clergy meeting under the Court's aegis. They also acted as an electoral college for the appointment of jurats and the prévôt. Whilst the estatz have some importance in the story of Guernsey's constitutional development, in pre-Reformation times they appear to have assembled very infrequently, other than for elections.<sup>42</sup> By far the greater power rested with the Royal Court throughout the early modern era.

### Local Administration

The Royal Court's judicial and administrative responsibilities were wide. Its registers, which survive from the late 1520s,

demonstrate an overwhelming preoccupation with social and economic regulation. The ways in which the Court governed the overlapping areas of economic life, the food supply, vagrancy and unemployment, disease, and crime, taken together give an impression of underlying social attitudes.

#### (i) Commercial life

The Court's involvement in the island's internal trade is evidenced by many ordinances, and a concern to protect the food supply is particularly apparent. For example, in 1534 the engrossment of imported cargoes was prohibited until ships had been hauled up on the shore (au galley) for three days.<sup>43</sup> This order, made in the interest of le bien commune, seems to repeat an earlier act of 1528.<sup>44</sup> Often, in times of shortage, the export of this or that commodity was prohibited. Bans on exporting corn were mentioned above. Similarly the export of salt sometimes was prohibited, as was butter in 1540. Regulations limiting the export of fat and lean (ie. milk) beasts were also frequent.<sup>45</sup>

The Court set the values of these and other commodities. Bread was a frequent pre-occupation. In 1528 the parish constables were reminded of their duties concerning the surveillance of bread, and the Court regulated bakers' activities and fixed their

prices in the following year. The proper prices and correct weights of peyn blanc and tourte (brown bread, probably made with a mixture of grains) <sup>46</sup> were again laid down in 1537.<sup>47</sup> The prices of corn, tallow, candles and beer sold in the island were also regularly set at Ples Capitaux.<sup>48</sup> Wines, whether described simply as sec or originating in Gascony or at La Rochelle, also had their values established by the Court.<sup>49</sup>

Besides controlling markets and setting prices in these ways, the Court also regulated the behaviour of people selling goods. By an order of 1534 it barred the sale of simnel in taverns, and inn-keepers were punished for other economic misdemeanours.<sup>50</sup> Usually they were prohibited from keeping a tavern, and sometimes fined or whipped. Bakers too were occasionally punished, and in 1537 butchers were ordered to trade only between certain hours. In 1539 they were barred from selling mutton, lamb and veal which was tainted (estoufee) or from which the kidneys had been removed or were decayed. Meat prices usually were set by assessors (affeurers) appointed by the Court, although this requirement was suspended by the Court in 1539. On occasion butchers who offended were banned from trading altogether.<sup>51</sup>

The property market was also regulated by the Court, which each



year at the S. Michel sitting of Ples Capitaux made an affeurement des rentes. This assigned particular values to a measure of wheat (usually a quartier), a loaf, a capon, and a chicken. Such calculations were made to fix the monetary equivalents of rents and manorial dues which were owed in kind and paid in arrears.<sup>52</sup> The connection between these assessed values and the actual market price of commodities may have been slight, since the valuations had more to do with property values and customary dues than with actual prices of food in the marketplace. Similar reasons may in part account for the setting by the Court of the price of wine, since this apparently was used as a medium of exchange as well, and many property transactions record that they were made for a sum of money, et vins et ventes.

Commodity prices were further controlled by the Court through the setting of exchange rates (or values as monies of account) of various currencies. The money of several regions changed hands in the island. In 1533 the value of the gold écu was set at forty five sous tournois, Guernsey's usual currency. This ordinance was renewed in 1534. In 1537 plaques au fer (iron tokens?) were valued at three sous and at the same time the silver este[r]ling was set at three liar[d]s. In the following year the carolus was valued at twelve deniers.<sup>53</sup>



The keeping of proper weights and measures was of similar concern. By an ordinance of 1539 the Court required corn to be sold in bushel measures sealed by its own officials. An order five years earlier had banned the use of poys de croc ("hook weights" – a hanging balance?) in the market place.<sup>54</sup>

Thus the Royal Court interfered regularly and often in the commercial life of the island. It controlled supplies and markets, trade practices, and wider economic factors. That no trade guilds have been encountered indicates the domination which it exercised. The local market economy was, as far as possible, controlled by the island's administration.

## (ii) Social regulation

The Court's regulations extended beyond economic matters to many other aspects of community life. Through legislation and actions taken against individuals it sought to exercise a wide control in matters such as public hygiene, epidemic disease, and the limitation of vagrancy and begging.

### a. epidemic disease

Strict regulations were made to keep disease from the island.

Plague was a particular fear. In 1533 the Court ordered the constables of the parishes to do their duty, according to their oaths of office, to work with the prevôt to see that boats coming from Jersey or Normandy suspected of bringing plague should be turned away without making landfall or unloading. No strangers were to be lodged or fed or given drink, and all new arrivals had to be referred to the Court. Guernsey must have suffered the great drought and plague which struck France in this year.<sup>55</sup>

In 1546 in similar circumstances the Court ordered those infected with plague and their cohabiters to stay away from public places and not attend church at the same time as other people.<sup>56</sup> In the same year Jersey's constables were required to investigate the presence of plague-bearing Guernseymen there.<sup>57</sup> Plague continued in Guernsey in 1547, when the Court limited the activities of the island's ecclesiastical court because of des malladyes de la peste qui regnent en lisle.<sup>58</sup>

b.      vagrancy and the native poor

Although horrifying, the fear of plague was often of less concern than the general and permanent threat which both foreign and local vagrants and beggars appeared to represent both to the food supply and to public order.

Such concerns were common to English and European mentalities and legislation throughout the sixteenth century, and Guernsey's regulations had things in common with the English Acte concernyng punysshement of beggars and vacabundes of 1531 (22 Hen. VIII c.12), and, to a lesser degree, the supplementary act of 1536 (28 Hen. VIII c.6).<sup>59</sup>

The English authorities and Guernsey's Royal Court alike attempted to limit the impotent poor to begging in their native districts. The able-bodied unemployed, who were regarded as undeserving and work-shy, were to be disciplined harshly. A strict division was also made between native and vagrant poor.<sup>60</sup>

The Guernsey legislation differed from the English in that the island did not discourage casual alms-giving (restricted under the English Act of 1536) and charity by religious associations and in connection with obits. In sharp contrast to their fellows in England, the island's beggars were expected to subsist deferentially on the charity of their fellow parishioners. As for foreign vagabonds they were simply banished.

These similarities and differences between England and Guernsey are reflected in a Guernsey ordinance of 1537 which stated

that all poor strangers, having arrived here within the last year and a day, who cannot live in this island without begging shall quit the country on punishment of being whipped. Therefore the constables, according to parish, are required to conduct them to the prévôt to be put out of the island. And as for all poor beggars who are natives of the island, they shall reside in and beg alms each to their own parish.<sup>61</sup>

Thus control in the first instance was operated by the parish constables. In the fifteen hundreds, as in the next century, from which the following quotation dates, they had to "take an account of all strangers that come into the Island, and to see them lodged, To take notice of all wandring beggars and when they find any such in their parish, if strangers to send them out of the Island by the first shipp".<sup>62</sup> This is reflected in an ordinance of 1532, which "ordered that the constables shall conduct to the prévôt all those who are listed [or summoned: es billettes] before 1 March on punishment of sixty sous [fine]".<sup>63</sup> The prévôt saw to it that the foreigners were removed.

Foreign vagrants, often perhaps originating from indigent districts such as were common in Normandy,<sup>64</sup> were drawn to the island in the hope of finding employment in the port or in dependent

domestic service. Norman servants, especially young women, occur frequently in Guernsey's records. If unruly, or unemployed, they were treated harshly by the local authorities.

Local people dependent on charity outside their own parish were however often treated in the same way. This is confirmed by two orders of the Court of 1529 and 1531, although the text of both is unfortunately damaged. Without distinguishing between natives and foreigners, these stated that girls and women without work were to put themselves in service or be banished.<sup>65</sup>

There is a later and more complete example of the Court's policy, this time directed still more widely, in an ordinance of 2 October 1542.<sup>66</sup> This ordered "... that all young men and young women who live apart [à leur part, cf. the English term "at their own hand"] shall hire themselves by next All Saints' Day on punishment of quitting the island and of a sixty sous fine to those who lodge them".

Such enactments are graphically illustrated in the fullest – yet typical – pre-Reformation record of expulsions and threatened expulsions to survive.<sup>67</sup> Made in 1536, this banished twenty named individuals together with "the le Breton children and their mother". It goes on to order nine women to hire themselves or



suffer a similar fate. On the same threat one Typhaine Laquepantere was obliged to hire herself or get married. The order also records pledges made by five individuals for the good behaviour of five maidservants, which is to say that they would remain in work. At the same time Perotine Blanche was required to live in the parish of S. Martin, apparently having given offence in that of S. Sauveur, probably by begging outside her native parish. She was threatened with expulsion if she offended again (a la premiere faulte). Some parents were pledged to see that their children should behave, on threat of themselves being answerable for their misdeeds.

Some of the names in this 1536 act are those of strangers, – la Brocque and Katherine Mabon, perhaps from Jersey, others from Normandy and elsewhere. But there are mixed in with these the names of several natives, Thomas Nicolle and his wife and maid, Jean Dumaresq's son, Perotine Blanche whom we suspect was a native of S. Martin's, and others including the unfortunate la Gabourelle and her daughter who were expelled and only allowed to return "when she has recovered her health".<sup>68</sup>

Thus strangers and in some circumstances native beggars, and even unemployed servants and independent-minded youths, were forced to quit the island. They were banished not for

specific crimes, but for the "social crime" of being dependent on the charity of their fellows, or likely to become so. The Royal Court made little distinction between "the [non-native] poor who cannot live in this island without begging" and natives who failed to work or at least beg alms with due deference in their own parishes.

The orders targetted at women indicate they were a group especially prone to dependence, a suggestion borne out by comparative English evidence.<sup>69</sup> At the same time the legislation indicates a wariness towards women leading an independent life. This is suggested by the fact that men had to vouch for the behaviour of unmarried maidservants, and the requirement made of one that she should get employment, marry or leave the island. The unease was removed wherever possible by making her the responsibility of an identifiable male.

A similar unease is reflected in orders concerning children and young people, another and substantial group of often unruly dependents: in 1563 the island was reported to be "full of yowthe".<sup>70</sup> Orders aimed at young people also suggest a particular fear of their criminal potential.

For some then, being young or female, or worse both, was an



invitation to strict regulation and even persecution. The Court's pre-occupation with social control and the maintenance of order is particularly explicit in these areas.

### (iii) Crime and punishment

The concern with order is similarly apparent in the Court's criminal jurisdiction. The register Crime<sup>71</sup> (which survives from 1529, although in fragments in its earliest years) deals with a wide range of offences. These include murders and assaults, numerous thefts, and commercial misdemeanours. There was also a class of actions taken against those accused of general "demerits", vagrancy, and other offences against social regulations.

To start with the most serious crimes, in the period before 1545 we find one man banished for murder (1531). He escaped hanging by fleeing for sanctuary to the church of Ste Marie du Castel. Later in the same year a man and woman were not so fortunate, and were hanged for the like offence. In 1543 the Court sentenced Laurenche Duquemyn to be burned "for having killed her child without baptism".<sup>72</sup>

Connected with the execution of these unpleasant sentences was

the office des hautes oeuvres. Appointment to the post was itself a punishment, and in 1542 two men successively were ordered by the Court to serve as executioner as a consequence of their "demerits and misdeeds".<sup>73</sup>

This "demerits" (demerites) accusation crops up frequently in the criminal records, often in connection with a charge of theft. Sentences for the offences ranged from a spell in the pillory to hanging. Again, where sanctuary was found, some thieves might escape execution and be banished.<sup>74</sup>

Banishment for a term of years or life awaited other thieves and those accused of "demerits", often taking place after the cropping of an ear – which was then nailed to the pillory. The cropping of ears was quite a rare punishment in England,<sup>75</sup> but was common in Guernsey, where its deterrent effect must have been appreciated. Should a banished person fail to leave, or later return to the island, a death sentence or other violent punishment awaited.

The sentence of banishment is illustrated in the record of a Court session held in September 1531:

Here follow those who are judged to quit the country:

Jean le Feyvre of Torteval, Joanne Griffon, Marguerite Hamon, Collas Nycollez' wife, and Pierres Effart's daughter. And they are ordered to quit the country before All Saints' Day on pain of being whipped and having all their goods confiscated, never to return, on threat of the said pain. James Lestoc for his demerits is banished from this island for six years, not to return during the said six years on pain of forfeiting body, goods and estates. Perrotine Vellet for her demerits is judged to be whipped and to be put at high water mark and banished from this island without ever returning, on pain of being hanged and strangled. Jean Grandin is judged to quit the country before All Saints' Day without returning on threat of being whipped if he returns.<sup>76</sup>

In the period 1529–45, the surviving Crime records report these and another seventeen sentences to banishment.<sup>77</sup> The ritual usually attached to the punishment, (which may not have been practiced in the four cases of banishment after sanctuary recorded) was described, somewhat ungrammatically, in the Approbation des Lois.<sup>78</sup> The banished person, it said, was "placed below high water mark by order of the Court, [and] the prévôt has been accustomed to ask the banished to which country he wishes to go, and he is ordered on [threat of] capital

punishment to quit in the first passing boat [dans le premier passage] to go to the place where it is bound for". It is worth remarking that when the seventeenth-century jurist Thomas le Marchant referred to this passage, he described the banished person in the feminine gender.<sup>79</sup>

Other corporal punishments were meted out for lesser offences, often taking the form of a whipping in front of the Court house or through the town (aval la ville), or a term in the pillory or stocks, both of which were in the market place outside S. Pierre Port Church.

- Fines were made for lesser crimes and for breaking commercial regulations.<sup>80</sup> Money also changed hands when the Court ordered damages to be paid in cases of assault. At this period, prison (at the Castle) appears to have been used by the Court just for the remand of accused people, not as a punishment in itself.

In the Royal Court's treatment of crime – and it is very clear that vagrancy, unregulated begging and independent behaviour by women and youths were included within its definition of crime – two attitudes are apparent.



First, that the Court was concerned to make public examples of those who offended against what it defined as the community's values. This is particularly clear in the matter of corporal punishment, which took place through the town or in its market place. The ears left attached to the pillory there must have been a particularly potent reminder to the population of the dangers of misbehaviour. Banishment too occurred in this public arena.

Banishment, whether ritually forced on criminals or more prosaically exercised in orders to vagrants, etc., also exemplifies the second notable aspect of the Court's criminal policy. This is to say that those who offended against the community's values too manifestly were ultimately physically removed from society itself. Those who could not, or would not, live according to the order of society, as defined by the Court, were cast out altogether.

#### (iv) Parochial officers

Much of the day to day administration of the law, enforcement of the Court's orders, and practice of the customary regulation of island life rested with various parish officers. Louis Devyck, who was the Crown's procureur in the later sixteenth century, listed their duties.<sup>81</sup> These clearly were long established, and we have

already presented examples of some of them.

a. constables

The most prominent officers in the parishes were the constables, of whom there were two in each parish. They had to maintain the King's peace and see that laws were observed. In elections to the estatz, they took the opinions of the parishioners whom they represented in that body.<sup>82</sup> They also, if we may rely on later practice, represented parishioners at sessions of Ples Capitaux, to which they reported. They were to see that strangers were properly lodged, and rid their districts of vagabonds. The constables also received taxes (tailles) gathered by the parish vingteniers. They had the oversight of bakers and taverns, where they were also obliged to taste the beer. Finally, it was their responsibility to search suspected houses for stolen goods, in the company of parishioners of the better sort (hommes de bien).<sup>83</sup>

b. douzeniers

The office of constable seems to have been elective, and it was connected with that of douzenier. These latter officers formed parochial bodies called douzaines. The douzaines are not often mentioned in the Court's pre-Reformation records, but they



appear to have been of some antiquity, originating perhaps in medieval parish juries of presentment. These had regularly been summoned in the middle ages to give evidence when assizes, ordered by the Crown, were held.<sup>84</sup> The assizes were abandoned by the English power after the mid-fourteenth century, but the douzaines continued to function.

Since time immemorial, wrote Devyck, "it has been customary in the said isle to have twelve men in each parish who are men of good renown" who made up the bodies.<sup>85</sup> It was their business to apportion liability between parishioners according to their means for taxes set by the Royal Court. They also measured and recorded the ownership of the lands of certain fiefs in livres de perchage (equivalent in use, but not identical in form, to English terriers). Little else is known of the douzaines' business, but they probably also acted in the sixteenth century, as they still do, like parish councils, dealing with hedgerows, encroachments on the highways, public boundaries and so on.

#### c. vingteniers

The officers known as vingteniers have been mentioned. Each parish was divided into districts called vingtaines, and it was said in the sixteen-hundreds that these were so named because

"each vintaine anciently consisting [was] of twenty houses or families".<sup>86</sup> The office of vingtenier was annual, and holders had various duties. Most important was the collection of taxes within their districts. They also gave notice to inhabitants when military obligations such as attendance at musters and the repair of defence works were required of them.<sup>87</sup> These responsibilities account for an ordinance of 1543 which prohibited foreigners from holding the office of vingtenier.<sup>88</sup>

d. parish captains

In their martial rôle vingteniers worked with the captains of the parishes (or centeniers), who were appointed by the Captain of the island or his lieutenant. Devyck stated that the responsibilities of the captains included the charge of the appropriate number of men in their parish, the surveillance of munitions and local defences, and the making of orders for the constables concerning such matters.<sup>89</sup> In 1546 the Court ordered all parishioners to obey their captains, and required the officers to oversee the condition of the inhabitants' hackbuts (haquebuttes), bows and kit (troussez), and parish defence works and munitions.<sup>90</sup>

(v) Property relationships

Alongside and overlapping this parochial organisation, which primarily concerned the regulation of individuals, was a manorial system, which was mostly concerned with property relationships.

The system of tenure and manorial society in Guernsey still awaits its historian, and a full examination is far outside the scope of this survey. However some aspects of social life as experienced through tenurial relationships, and the remnants of the manorial system, may briefly be described.

a. tenure

Land was regularly bought and sold. Most often the purchaser covenanted to pay an annual rente, usually in wheat, but sometimes in other kind or in specie. This was not a "rent" in the English sense (although this is how we are obliged to translate it hereafter), for providing it was paid to the vendor or the vendor's assigns, title rested absolutely with the purchaser.<sup>91</sup> Clearly much land was enclosed and had been transferred in this manner. The frequency of field names with the element clôture, clos, and similar confirm this.<sup>92</sup>

Some open fields (camps) nonetheless remained in areas of marginal land – survivals of a more communal system of



agriculture – and regulations for their exploitation were necessary.<sup>93</sup> Most notable was the custom of banon. This provided that animals might range freely over the open fields once these had been cropped, between certain dates. This necessitated the appointment of a parish messire whose duty "was to performe his office of impounding of such cattle as trespass upon mens grounds in the time when there is noe banon".<sup>94</sup> The Royal Court occasionally legislated with regard to banon. Generally though, the system of farming on the open fields (and on common lands, which were quite extensive, especially in the parishes of S. Martin and S. Michel du Valle) must have been regulated by ancient and unwritten custom. Open fields on particular fiefs no doubt had specific customs and regulations as well.

b. manorial organisation <sup>95</sup>

The island was divided into several manors or fiefs. Three together covered its major part. These were the King's demesne (the fief le Roi), the fief S. Michel (which the Crown seized from the Abbey of Mont S. Michel at the expulsion of the Alien Priors), and the fief le Comte, which remained in private ownership. Besides these there were a number of other seigneuries. Some were quite important, like the fiefs Sausmarez and Blanchelande

in S. Martin. Others were dependencies of larger fiefs or Crown property.

Manorial courts existed to serve them. The fief le Roi and the lesser Crown holdings were served by the Royal Court in this respect, but the tenants of several fiefs had access to various local jurisdictions. Most notable of these were the courts of fiefs le Comte and S. Michel. Other fiefs had less important but still viable courts. Devyck mentioned those of fiefs Sausmarez, Jean du Gaillard, and Longues.<sup>96</sup> These, like those of le Comte and S. Michel, comprised various numbers of vayasseurs, under the presidency of a seneschal.

Some fiefs had sub-holdings called bordages, tenanted by bordiers who owed special administrative services, such as holding lesser court offices, like that of sergent. Other minor officials were also appointed, for example grenétiers, prévôts, and (on fief le Comte) chefs de bouvée. These had administrative duties, most usually connected with the collection and preservation of manorial dues.

No manorial courts had a criminal jurisdiction. Those of fiefs S. Michel and le Comte did however share with the Royal Court the power to validate contracts, including deeds conveying land. The

business of these and other manorial courts also included arbitration and sentencing (to fines and restitution) in minor legal affairs, particularly in matters of property. Occasionally they appointed guardians (tuteurs or meneurs). There was a right of appeal from these lesser courts to the Royal Court. This sometimes was exercised, and more frequently threatened. The manorial courts thus provided an accessible vehicle for several aspects of justice at a local level.

The interests of seigneurs were represented in them when the courts enforced the payment of manorial dues. The most significant of these was campart, which was owed on crops. It amounted, on fief le Roi, to one-twelfth of the crop. Other proportions were payable as campart elsewhere. These and censive rents called chef rentes due on cultivated land were usually paid in kind. They were collected by an official called the grangier or prévôt who was elected by the tenants. A due of two chickens on each house (poulage) was collected on fief le Roi and some other fiefs. On fief S. Michel the eggs were collected instead, at a rate of forty per household a year (quarantaine). A fine (treizième) was usually payable to the seigneur for his congé upon the rare conveyance of land on the fief for cash (ie. not for a rente).



A few labour services were also owed on some fiefs. These however were not onerous, Professor le Patourel indeed called them "trivial".<sup>97</sup> We find in 1482, for example, the tenants of Sausmarez obliged to transport the seigneur's wheat and oats, and (for a fee in kind) his meat, drink and firewood.<sup>98</sup> Tenants generally owed suit at seigneurial mills. They also had the duty through a douzaine (the parochial one in respect of fiefs le Roi, S. Michel and le Comte and their dependencies, otherwise one drawn from the fief) to compile livres de perchage every generation or so. Tenants were also obliged to acknowledge their holdings on particular fiefs by answering for them (aveu) annually to their respective courts. Failure to do this for three successive years rendered the holding liable to seizure (saisie) by the seigneur, as the tenant went default d'aveu.

The seigneurs of certain fiefs in turn owed suit at the Royal Court.<sup>99</sup> In the sixteenth century this did not involve them in any judicial activity, but they were obliged to attend Ples Capitaux together with the bordiers of the Crown fief. Crown bordiers, by the terms of their tenancies of bordages, like their namesakes on other fiefs, owed special services, including guarding prisoners, conveying them to their trials, and collecting rents.<sup>100</sup>

The manorial system surviving in the sixteenth century, whilst still

functioning, thus had few material resemblances to the system of personal "ties of dependence" which characterised the feudalism of other times and places. It was however another aspect of the island's economic and social life which was ordered, collaborative and regulated by tradition.

### Conclusion

This introductory chapter has deliberately ranged over a wide variety of topics. The themes of order, and the ways in which the life of the community was regulated by secular institutions, have been a unifying element throughout.

The activities of the Court, estatz, and parochial and manorial administrations gave the community constant experiences of the regulation of island life and, for some, the chance to participate in it. The actions of the island's institutions determined many relations within the community and established the order of civil life.

The maintenance of order by the Court and other institutions touched everybody, and must have been of concern to many, of all stations. The propertied group and merchant class – the gens de bien – from which the Court's members and officers, parish

douzeniers, captains, vingteniers and manorial officers were drawn, assisted in the policing and enforcement of regulations made by the Court. They experienced the preoccupation with order at first hand. Servants and employers, parents and their children, trades-people, women, youths, vagrants and the unemployed were all the subjects of strict regulation, and were similarly made aware of their social position and obligations. The preoccupation with social order was therefore experienced in one way or another by all, or nearly all, members of the population:

A general concern with the maintenance of the status quo probably was greater in the early modern era than in recent times. It is commonly recalled that life in pre-industrial society was, for the majority, "poor, nasty, brutish and short".<sup>101</sup> Although the quotation places Hobbes' remark out of context, it is true, at least by the expectations of today. The horrors of life of the sixteenth century were many. People could do little to control the waywardness of nature. Crops might fail, or they might be destroyed, as might ships and settlements. People and animals might fall ill and perish, and many other disasters threatened the individual, the family and the whole community. Society was largely helpless against disease, dearth, bad weather, fire, war and ill-understood economic forces.

Sir Keith Thomas warns that the horrific impression made by such things might be exaggerated by hindsight: "Poverty, sickness and sudden disaster were ... familiar features of the social environment of this period. But we must not make the anachronistic mistake of assuming that contemporaries were as daunted by them as we should be, were we suddenly pitchforked backwards in time".<sup>102</sup> This is a salutary warning. Yet it would be wrong to conclude that because people were resigned to the unpredictability of life, they were dismissive of the ever-present risks to their existence (and of course Thomas' work shows quite the opposite to be true). People experienced good and bad times, they saw their fellows fare well or ill, and they knew of fortunate and unfortunate districts and regions. Various kinds of disaster were indeed familiar, but it is not anachronistic to acknowledge that they were feared and daunting.

In such a world then, where upsets in the order of things were frequent and constantly possible, the appeal of stability – in society as much as in nature – was great. The foregoing provides some illustration of long-established responses to this appeal.

With regard to social relationships, Professor Muchembled has identified a "consciousness of belonging" which was reinforced by



the "impression – false, perhaps – of participating in a common defense against the invasion of the vagabond, the beggar, the marginal individual – that is, against all that was the exterior and the unknown".<sup>103</sup> We see such a consciousness expressed in the Guernsey community's institutional defence against the threats posed by these individuals. An equal "consciousness of belonging" existed in reaction to other threats to the traditional order of life. Change and disorder, whether experienced in natural disaster or social relationships, were as far as possible to be avoided and limited. The best hope of survival and prosperity for the community lay in preserving a strict social and political order, preventing any aberrant individualism or disruption of the traditional patterns of life.<sup>104</sup> These are the social relations which were expressed in the functioning of the institutions surveyed here.<sup>105</sup>



## Chapter Two

### THE ORDER OF ISLAND LIFE: RELIGIOUS

Guernsey's secular order was underpinned by religious beliefs and practices. Religion was a vital factor shaping the "world picture" of individual members of the community, and had an overall importance in the functioning of the local polity.

#### The Royal Court and the Church

The order which Guernsey's Royal Court imposed and sought to impose on the island's life extended into the religious field. This is seen for example in respect of sanctuary and the Court's control of certain activities of the lesser clergy.

##### (i) sanctuary

The right to take refuge in a church when pursued for a crime was long established in the island's legal custom,<sup>1</sup> and the practice of sanctuary appears to have closely resembled or to have been identical with the medieval process of "abjuration".<sup>2</sup> Sanctuary-taking may have occurred quite frequently in the period antedating surviving records: of the seven criminal cases

recorded in 1531, (not counting a session of enquest generallez); four involved the accused taking to the church. The crimes in question varied from four cases of theft, including one of a fish (owner unknown), to murder with a hatchet. All resulted in banishment, on threat of hanging should the fugitive return, except in one of the theft actions.<sup>3</sup> Through sanctuary, then, people avoided capital punishment in the most serious cases and corporal punishment in others.

All records of sanctuary disappear from the Royal Court's records after 1531; the reason being, it seems, that the Court took notice of the English Acte Concernyng Abjurationys into Seyntuaryes of that year (22 Hen. VIII c. 14).<sup>4</sup> The statute only modified the right of sanctuary in England, and does not mention the Channel Islands. No order from England for its adoption is known. It nonetheless appears to have stimulated Guernsey's Royal Court into suspending the right to sanctuary in the island altogether.

In thus deferring to what it took to be the trend of English opinion, the Court contradicted the customary law of Normandy and the usages of the Diocese of Coutances, in which the island remained, alike.<sup>5</sup> The mediating role of the Church exercised in the ritual of sanctuary was abolished, to return only in the reign of Mary, on two occasions in 1556 and 1557, when men fled to

the Church and were expelled from the island according to the old custom.<sup>6</sup> With these exceptions – made in a time of resurgent Catholicism – after 1531 the Church's privilege of giving sanctuary was not entertained by the civil power.

(ii) hunting chaplains

The Royal Court similarly acted to limit clerical privileges with regard to chaplains who went hunting. An ordinance of 1548 restricted the pursuit of hares and rabbits to certain social and professional groups: jurats, the clergy (les cures), gentlemen and (court) officers.<sup>7</sup> The terms of related ordinances of 1529 and 1530 make it clear that a differentiation was recognised within the priestly group itself.<sup>8</sup> On pain of a ten livres fine these orders prohibited hunting by chaplains unless they were in the company of their masters (leur mestres – which may refer to incumbents of parish cures or the patrons of private chapels).

By seeking to impose fines on the lesser clergy in this way, the Court challenged clerical immunity from criminal prosecution in the secular courts.<sup>9</sup> The Court acted unilaterally, as it had done in the matter of sanctuary, and again in a manner which brings Church privileges into question.<sup>10</sup>

## The local Church

These acts suggest that the position of the Church in Guernsey vis-a-vis secular authority was relatively weak. An examination of local relations with the diocese and the position of the local clergy supports this view. The Norman Church per se was not a powerful force in island society.

### (i) relations with Coutances

Because the island was in its diocese, in the archdeaconry of Baupiais,<sup>11</sup> local priests were instituted to rectorships at Coutances. They were however nominated by the English Captain of the island.<sup>12</sup> Similarly the secular patrons of the chapels of S. Brioc, S. George, S. Thomas, Notre Dame de Pulias, Ste Appoline, and Ste Anne all looked to Coutances for the collation of their chaplains.<sup>13</sup> Many priests did not attend at Coutances to be inducted, but were represented in absentia by attorneys.

The Bishop's Court also had some involvement in the affairs of Guernsey's laity. For example in 1509 it issued letters concerning a marriage within the fourth degree of consanguinity.<sup>14</sup> Generally though, the Bishop was represented in the island by his



commissary court. This was staffed by the local priesthood, and almost invariably presided over by the Dean.<sup>15</sup> It granted the probate of wills, but we know nothing else of its activities in this period.<sup>16</sup> Indeed the names of the dean(s) of the fifteen-twenties and thirties are unknown.<sup>17</sup> This is a suggestive lacuna.

Physical distance, the effective authority of Royal Court, and perhaps a wariness of getting too involved in the affairs of a territory which was subject to English rule, may account for the diocesan church's small involvement in island life.

It also has to be acknowledged that the Norman Church had problems enough at home. In much of France – particularly the rural regions – the Church was under-financed and badly organised.<sup>18</sup> Normandy was no exception. The poverty of the Cotentin peninsula which drove some peasants to the life of vagrancy and service abroad, alluded to in the previous chapter, offered little hope of an adequate priesthood in the region. Throughout the Duchy standards of clerical education were poor, and absenteeism and plurality commonplace.<sup>19</sup> As Professor Ladurie observes, Norman parish priests "might well 'pray to God on behalf of their flock', but they usually did so while putting as much space as possible between themselves and their sheep".<sup>20</sup>



This was characteristic of the bishops themselves. L'Abbé Canu notes that between 1434 and 1547 ten Bishops of Coutances never went there. Others were resident only for a few months.<sup>21</sup> There is no reason to suppose that the Channel Islands, just tiny outlying fragments of the Diocese, had a greater share of resources or attention. Certainly no bishop is known to have visited Guernsey.<sup>22</sup>

There was then little in the structure of the mainland church and the habits of its personnel to encourage much religious intercourse between Normandy and Guernsey; or the imitation within the island of the Norman Church.

(ii) the economic position of the clergy

The Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 revealed that the island's rectors were rewarded with small salaries. These varied from twelve pounds sterling with tithes to the value of twenty four shillings at S. Pierre Port, to five pounds plus tithes of ten shillings in the case of Ste Marie de Torteval.<sup>23</sup>

The Valor therefore might be thought to indicate that the economic problems of the Norman priesthood were shared by their Guernsey brethren. This appears not to have been the

case, however. The rectors referred to in the Valor were a minority of priests serving in the island, and they and all priests appear to have enjoyed certain revenues besides official salaries. These revenues originated directly with the laity, and were a source of income upon which non-beneficed priests were wholly dependent. Fees were charged for some services. After the Reformation it was suggested these had been for christenings, masses, burials, and other things.<sup>24</sup> Priests even might issue receipts, as was done in 1519 by sire Hugues Lanpriere, when he acknowledged having received payment in kind for a Jesus Mass (maesse de Jhesus) and another from Jean Girart.<sup>25</sup>

One third of the obit revenue of the parishes of S. Sauveur and Ste Marie du Castel was gathered into funds and paid to priests, and it seems likely this was also the custom in other parishes, where records refer to resources called clers.<sup>26</sup> Thus in 1528 when Henry Beauvoir founded a weekly mass at the church of S. Samson, he provided for the sharing of its endowment between general church funds (tresor et fabrique), and the rector, with "the other third to the clerks and cantors of the said church [lautre tiers aux clers et chantres de la dicte eglise]"<sup>27</sup> Nycollas Fouachin made a similar provision in a foundation of 1525.<sup>28</sup>

Besides these spiritual perquisites, some priests got income from

secular employment. The teaching of children was a traditional task of the clergy, and is hinted at in the declaration in 1607 of "divers of the aged inhabitants" of S. Michel du Valle. Before the Reformation, they stated, the Chapelle de l'Epine had enjoyed revenues "towards the maintenance of the said chapel, and of a school-master that taught therein ... and that some of them have heard a minister, or schoolmaster, say divine service therein".<sup>29</sup> The minister and master appear to have been the same individual. More remarkably, André Powes, the rector of S. Pierre du Bois from 1525 and S. Martin from 1527, held the important Crown office of Receiver in the fifteen-twenties and thirties.<sup>30</sup>

The meanness of Church salaries, the inadequacy of pastoral communication between Coutances and its clergy, and spiritual and secular incomes from the laity, all acted to bind priests to the local community. As owners of a proportion of the tithes (however much these were diminished by appropriation) and cultivators of glebe lands, parish priests must also have shared the community's interest in the success of the harvest. At a less material level, Guernsey's priests were members of fraternities and participated as an estate in the representative body of estatz. Local economic, religious and political associations thus had more to do with the day-to-day life and social relations of the clergy than did distant Coutances.



The Norman Church hierarchy was not very interested in its clergy or flock in Guernsey. That attitude apparently was reciprocated by the community. The Dean's court maintained a much lower profile than the Royal Court, and the spiritual power was, in some matters, subject to the latter's regulation. The secular clergy were a part of the local community, with the same allegiances and economic and cultural interests.

### Intercessionary Institutions

#### (i) the fraternities <sup>31</sup>

In spite of the diocesan church's lack of involvement, it would be an error to suppose that there was a devotional vacuum in Guernsey. Religious life on the eve of the Reformation was far from moribund, and there is no evidence of a great spiritual hunger waiting to be satisfied by quantities of Protestant dogma or Reformed Catholicism. Lay devotion in this period is witnessed in the vigour of the fraternities.

Historical evidence of the activities or even existence of fraternities is notoriously sparse.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, as shown in Appendix One, there remain records of at least forty-four sixteenth-century fraternities in Guernsey. (They were known as

confreries, freries, or fraternytes. The terms are used together and are probably interchangeable).<sup>33</sup>

Almost certainly there were more – our knowledge comes through the random preservation of records which represent merely a sample of what once existed. The names of lights in churches recall others,<sup>34</sup> and evidence of a number of small fraternities, which owned no real property (and hence have left no title deeds) may well be lost.

a. the role of the fraternities

Records indicate that the activities of Guernsey's fraternities accorded with English and continental practice. In their most basic form they simply funded masses. This in itself though required a degree of organisation and collaboration. There was a need to see that masses were properly celebrated, dues had to be collected, and officers appointed to do this and to complete legal documents.

The purpose of the masses was intercession, to aid souls in Purgatory. The dead, in Professor Scarisbrick's words, "could benefit from the stream of intercession offered to Heaven by the guild's living members".<sup>35</sup> At the same time, through the



performance of such good works and related charity, posthumous satisfaction for the sins of living members was stored up. It was believed that such acts would speed the souls of fraternity members through Purgatory when they too died. This relationship between charity to the living and posthumous reward has been characterised by Professor Davis as a "mutual economy of salvation".<sup>36</sup> As elsewhere, Guernsey's fraternities were founded for "brothers and sisters ... both living and dead".<sup>37</sup>

With the same motives, lights were kept in churches and before altars for the benefit of confrères in general and for the dead. Thus in 1510 the small fraternity of S. Gatian was owed a pound of wax by Jean Henry for his father, "two candles at three services" by Jeanne Paysson for her husband and son, and three candles by Guillaume l'Estoc for his wife.<sup>38</sup>

The accounts of S. Gatian also record the receipt of ten estellins for Jean le Feyvre's service, indicating the fraternity was involved in members' funerals. In Jean Girard's will of 1522 (in the same manuscript as the accounts) besides other devout gifts, he bequeathed one ecu towards the expenses of his funeral procescyonere and burial.<sup>39</sup> The procession suggests a fraternity seeing its deceased brother to rest with some ceremony, probably led by batonniers, as some fraternity officials

were called, presumably with reference to a ceremonial staff carried on such occasions. Funerals very likely were followed by a meal shared by mourning family and confrères: Marie Girart's executor accounted for "two gros for a conger for the dinner" after her death.<sup>40</sup>

The treasurer of S. Gatian noted that at the date of writing the accounts (7 July 1510) the candles had been made, and that he therefore was quit of further expense until S. Gatian's day (18 December). He clearly anticipated further expenses on the patron's feast, for a special mass and perhaps also for an annual business meeting and dinner.<sup>41</sup>

The provision of charity to the living as well as the dead was an important social function <sup>of</sup> the fraternities, and another element in the "mutual economy of salvation". Charity often extended beyond members into the community. The batonniers of Notre Dame des Clers at S. Sauveur distributed the substantial quantity of fifteen quarters of wheat to the poor annually. The charity of other fraternities had a still wider ambit and included gifts to all households (a chacun feu) within a given parish. The collecteurs of the frerie of Jesus at S. Pierre du Bois annually distributed twenty bushels' worth of wheat in bread in this manner. The fraternities of Notre Dame, S. Nicolas and Toussaints at Torteval

did similarly<sup>42</sup>.

b. the Cherite fraternity

Contrasting with the likes of S. Gatian and other small yet truly popular fraternities, there were other more organised and splendid foundations. The most sophisticated of these must have been the fraternity de la Cherite attached to the town church of S. Pierre Port, which was of island-wide significance.

We are fortunate to have its foundation deed.<sup>43</sup> It was established in 1531 on the initiative of James Guille, the Bailiff of the island 1511–38. It was based in a chapel usually called the Chapelle du Bellefroy <sup>44</sup> (ie. belfry) which stood next to the island's most important church. The chapel also served as a charnel house – a singularly appropriate location for a fraternity's memorial services.

Guille had founded his own chantry in the chapel, and at the creation of the fraternity he associated the names of "all the brothers and sisters of the said confraternity living and dead and the souls of Purgatory" with the three masses a week already celebrated there by his chaplain.

The fraternity was further endowed with rents acknowledged by thirty-two parties. Several husbands and wives made joint donations, and several men covenanted to pay for their wives' membership as well as their own. In all fourteen married couples joined. It thus appears from this and similar documents that if people were married, they tended to join fraternities together.<sup>45</sup>

This did not debar single people though, and others joined the Cherite individually or with mothers or sisters. Nine men and two women joined on their own, two men with a sister, and one man with his mother. Nicollas de la Court covenanted to pay a bushel of wheat rent annually for himself and his nephew Collas. Two widows of S. Michel du Valle covenanted one gros and four sous respectively. One mother joined with her daughter, for an annual bushel of wheat rent.<sup>46</sup> The notion of a fraternity as an "artificial kin group"<sup>47</sup> therefore should not exclude the fact that it could express and reinforce existing kin relationships.

Apart from some particularly generous gifts listed at the beginning of the foundation deed, including five bushels of wheat rent from Guille, and odd sums of money and one chicken which were pledged, single people usually covenanted to pay a cabotel of wheat rent annually. Married couples and others joining with a partner donated twice that amount, namely one bushel. Fifty-one



founder members in all are mentioned in the deed. More people joined the fraternity, and others added to their original endowments over the years.<sup>48</sup>

The "brothers and sisters of the confraternity and fraternity de la Cherite for the deliverance of the souls of Purgatory founded by the said brothers and sisters ... in the Sepulchre Chapel within the cemetery of Saint Pierre Port" made these donations "to found and forever to be said in the said chapel a memorial of the dead with masses on the days of each week hereafter declared, for the founders, for the souls of their relations and friends, and for the souls of Purgatory". Every day except Saturdays and Sundays, masses were to be celebrated at seven a.m. by the fraternity's chaplains in such a way "as it pleases the collectors, brothers and sisters to order".

After ringing the bell "in the usual manner", a requiem mass was to be sung en hault followed by a recorderis over the bones of the dead. The chaplains were to take their proper turns to celebrate masses, and were paid from the endowments or from the collection box (pardons du tronc). Other funds were to be employed for torchlights (torches lumynayres) for the chapel and generally as the fraternity saw fit.<sup>49</sup>



The first collecteurs et procureurs (collectors and attorneys) of the Cherite fraternity were Guille himself and Nicolas de Rosell, a jurat 1510–36.<sup>50</sup> They appeared before the Royal Court to ratify the foundation charter "by the election, desire and supplication of the brothers and sisters of the confraternity". Although some of the small sums pledged suggest that relatively poor members were admitted, the presence of Guille and de Rosell (who was the second most senior of the jurats) gave the foundation a semi-official character: an impression of what Professor Scarisbrick has called "local corporations at prayer".<sup>51</sup>

As indicated by its name and like-named associations in Normandy, the Confreyye et Fraternyte de la Cherite was "devoted to works of mercy".<sup>52</sup> An enquiry of 1581 confirmed this, when a dole it had made at Easter was recalled. Witnesses deposed that on Good Fridays before the Reformation, James Guille and others had distributed cakes to the poor at the door of the Chapelle du Bellefroy.<sup>53</sup> These cakes were described as gaches qui estoient parties en quatre, so divided, perhaps, in imitation of the host wafer. They may even have been unconsecrated mass wafers themselves, of the sort distributed on Palm Sundays in some places in England.<sup>54</sup> This public ceremony demonstrated the confraternity's fraternal, charitable and social roles very well.

c. the organisation of fraternities

The nature of the confession des rentes documents which are the main source of information about Guernsey's fraternities precludes the calculation of their total membership. Neither can total amounts of gifts (which cannot always be differentiated from investments) be assessed. However, a reading of all those deeds which survive very strongly suggests that the usual annual subscription for an individual was the sum most commonly pledged to the Cherite, namely one cabot of wheat.<sup>55</sup> Couples paid twice that amount, one bushel. Regarding greater and lesser sums which were sometimes owed, the principles of "the efficacy of good works" and "the widow's mite" may be said to have operated.<sup>56</sup> To make payments like these must have been within the ambition and attainment of a large part of the community.

Priests were sometimes members of fraternities. Syre James Ollyvyer was a member of the fraternity of Jesus at S. Pierre du Bois.<sup>57</sup> Jean Rogier, the cure of Torteval, joined the Cherite, and the rector of S. André donated a bushel of wheat rent to the fraternity of Notre Dame at his church.<sup>58</sup>

In contrast to English practice,<sup>59</sup> clergy sometimes also held

office in fraternities. The priest Pierres le Mesurier was joint collecteur and attorney of the fraternity of Jesus, S. Pierre du Bois, in 1534.<sup>60</sup> Syre Helier Dorrey was collecteur of the fraternity of Jesus at S. Martin in the same year.<sup>61</sup> In 1548 syre Nicolle Desperches held the same office at a fraternity of Jesus in an unspecified parish.<sup>62</sup> The priest Pierres le Lacheur was procureur of the Jesus fraternity at la Forêt in 1536.<sup>63</sup> The connection of priestly office-holding with Jesus fraternities may be significant, or it may be coincidence. Certainly though, in Guernsey as in England, "the Jesus Mass has all the hallmarks of a genuinely popular devotion".<sup>64</sup>

The activities of fraternities had a wide appeal. It has been alleged that in France the fraternities "recruited a majority of the population before the Reformation", and the same must have been the case in Guernsey.<sup>65</sup> A sense of community was expressed in fraternal worship and activities organised for the good of the souls of members, both alive and dead; in funerals, and in the shared liability for paying dues. It was evident in the altars and chapels of the fraternities in parish churches and – in at least one instance – in free-standing chapels.

Fellowship was similarly expressed in the shared employment of priests and chaplains, acts of charity at church doors and



throughout the parishes, and in other communal activities like meetings, processions, and perhaps feasts and entertainments, of which the records say little. Fraternal ideals also extended out from the associations into the wider community (and into the afterlife) through the provision of doles and other material charity.

In the fraternities we again find the sacred organised by the secular. The brothers and sisters got on with their devotions with little interference, if any, from the diocesan Church. In observing their activities we get as close as we can to the spiritual life and experiences of the majority of the population. There was no shortage of devotion in pre-Reformation Guernsey, but religious practice essentially was about the community, both elite and commons (including the priesthood, concerning whom we have no evidence of anti-clericalism) getting on with it together, with small outside involvement.

## (ii) obits

The self-sufficient character of local religious life is also attested by the popularity of obits. These were annual masses dedicated to the memory of named individuals. They were endowed by that person in his or her lifetime, or established by will, or founded by friends or relations after the subject's death.



Obit masses served the same posthumous function as chantry and confraternity masses and other good works generally – they were intended to help the souls of the remembered on their way through Purgatory.<sup>66</sup> Again, like these other phenomena, the act of founding or maintaining an obit for another person (since it was a charitable deed) was efficacious to both parties.

Payments made to priests in order to celebrate obits were gathered into funds. There is mention of a commune ez obys at S. Pierre du Bois in 1531.<sup>67</sup> In so far as they can be distinguished from other funds called clers, such communes appear to have comprised the amount of all obits endowed at particular churches, like the "stores" of English fraternities.<sup>68</sup> It also appears that one-third of obit funds was dedicated to the poor.<sup>69</sup> After the Reformation these monies and rents were seized and distributed in a variety of ways.<sup>70</sup>

### (iii) remembrances

Associated with obits were remembrances. We have no absolute definition of what these were, but almost certainly the word remembrance referred to the entry of a dead individual's name on what was known in England as a "bede roll".<sup>71</sup> Bede rolls were lists "which set forth the individual reasons why people should

specially remember these dead in their prayers. [And] for entering the names on this roll, a fee was paid to the parson ...".<sup>72</sup> Effectively, the usual reason why names were remembered was because a donation had been made specifically for the purpose.

Hence in 1518 a deed acknowledged that a rent was owed to the rector of S. Michel du Valle in respect of Guillaume Francoys, comprising three sous for his obit and two for his ramenbrancez.<sup>73</sup> Similarly in 1500 a rent of four sous was owed to the rector of S. Pierre du Bois for the remembrance of Jean le Vecheulx and his wife, who were buried in the church.<sup>74</sup> A frerye of Remembrances at S. Michel du Valle was referred to by Elizabethan commissioners.<sup>75</sup> To judge by its name this was a fraternity especially associated with the organisation of such memorials.

#### (iv) doles and the expression of social relations

Doles of money and especially bread were sometimes given in connection with obits, often being inclusively referred to by the same name. In 1581 evidence was given that before the Reformation bread had been handed to the poor as an obit at the door of the church of S. Michel du Valle.<sup>76</sup> Such doles may well

have been associated with remembrances as well. With similarly charitable motives, one Colin le Petit made a bequest so that bread should be distributed to the rich and poor of S. Samson alike (tant aux povres que aux riches) on the understanding that they prayed for the souls of his friends.<sup>77</sup>

Obits, remembrances, and associated doles were further mechanisms associating the dead with the living and binding together the community of the living themselves through joint enterprise, charitable efforts and common beliefs. Although at first sight more exclusive than confraternities, they served similar social functions.

### The religious milieu

There were other religious phenomena which were important elements in the island's culture. These can be examined in terms of time and space.

#### (i) the religious calendar

The Church observed holy days, remembered the dead and marked the passing of the seasons by recurring annual commemorations and festivals. The Royal Court, and to an

extent the commercial and agricultural worlds, similarly operated according to a calendar of "church time". R.W. Scribner has referred to "the annual sequence of great church feasts ... [which] provided a framework for human relations with the sacred, their liturgies being designed to express the mysteries of Christian belief, to honour God and to sanctify the participants".<sup>78</sup> This framework was as important in Guernsey as it was elsewhere.

The major festivals come to mind first. Easter, Christmas, All Saints' Day, and more locally – but still far from wholly local – the feast of S. Michael the Archangel de Mont de Gargane.

Easter was the most important. Hence it was on Easter Day in 1513 that Guillaume and Jammette le Marquant founded a school and provided for a schoolmaster.<sup>79</sup> The feast clearly was regarded as a most suitable time to do such a thing. Being "moved with charity", they completed the deed in S. Pierre Port church, in the presence of the ubiquitous Bailiff James Guille and the rest of the parish.

The founders laid down that the schoolmaster should

say and make the scholars say each evening upon leaving  
an antiphon of Our Lady, with a De Profundis, a Pater



Noster and Ave Maria for the souls of the said Thomas le Marquant and Jammette his wife and of all their friends and benefactors and generally for all the souls for whom God would have us pray.

This was done before the full congregation (en plein audience de parroesse) who were attending to participate in the most important – perhaps only – parish <sup>Communion</sup> of the year.<sup>80</sup> Here then was another nexus of private spirituality and community worship. The "body social", as Professor Davis calls it,<sup>81</sup> witnessed and participated in the le Marquants' act of devotion, and the deed was completed not just for the couple, but for all souls, "to honour God and sanctify the participants".

This particular gift was not made every Easter, and so it can hardly be called a recurring calendar event, but the feast chosen is significant. The short ritual cycle of the nightly service the le Marquants founded is also to be noted, as is the somewhat longer one of the annual payment of the rent they donated. This was due on the feast of S. Michael, as virtually all rents were.<sup>82</sup>

Less specific charity was also given at Easter. Annual doles included the cakes distributed by Guille and his confrères on Good Fridays, already mentioned. The older generation of 1581

similarly reported that one Pierre du Port's gift of a dole of bread to all the parishioners of S. Samson was given out on the same day. Others in that parish did the same.<sup>83</sup>

Still other Eastertide charity was connected with an annual parish mass at Ste Marie du Castel. This is recalled by a gift made by the rector Jean Langlois in 1524, when he gave funds to the parish church in order to buy wine to administer (amynystayr) to his parishioners on Easter Day.<sup>84</sup> This does not refer to the laity sharing consecrated wine, but rather was to purchase ablution wine – "pure wine given to them to drink so that they may more easily swallow the sacrament which they have taken".<sup>85</sup> Ablution wine may indeed have seemed "something more solemn than the mouth-cleaning fluid the orthodox clergy felt obliged to pretend",<sup>86</sup> and the Castel parson's gift well reflects the pastoral relationship between him and his parishioners.

Candlemas was another feast celebrated with some ceremony. There was a fraternity called notre dame chandelleur at the church of S. Martin which very likely assumed a special role at that time.<sup>87</sup> A document of 14 June 1533 shows that Maundy or Absolution Thursday (Jeudy absolu) was also prominent in the local church calendar.<sup>88</sup> The deed records the gift by Massyot Macy of S. Pierre du Bois of a quarter of annual wheat rent to

fund alms at his parish church on "Absolution Thursday at the service of the washing of the altars [lavement dez auteylz]". This refers to the annual ceremony when altars were stripped and ritually cleansed with wine and holy water. The name Jeudy absolu refers to the rites of repentance congregations performed on that day.<sup>89</sup> Macy quite naturally associated the names of "all his relations, friends and benefactors, living and dead" with his gift. A financial account of 1518 is dated by reference to lez Rogations, and these traditional perambulations (symptomatic of bonds between the civil and ecclesiastical parish) probably took place in Guernsey.<sup>90</sup>

Other calendar events can hardly be said to have been part of the official religious year, but nonetheless were associated with the Church calendar and shared some hallowed aspects. Elie Brévint, a seventeenth-century minister of Sark, noted c. 1625 that "the first Sunday in Lent is called le jour des brandons. At Saint Martin in Guernsey, the young men for a frolic [par esbat] carry torches of straw [Brandons du glie]" in the evening of that day.<sup>91</sup> This practice must have dated from before the Reformation, when the Christianized festival of brandones had been celebrated in Europe with fertility rites and lenten fires.<sup>92</sup>

Another of these ritual activities was the chevauchée du Roi



discussed below. Others were perhaps enacted on S. John's Eve. As late as 1622 the Royal Court prohibited begging then and at New Year, on account of what was called its "superstitious" character.<sup>93</sup> This may refer to rituals or songs associated with the begging of alms. Patois verses quoted from the late eighteenth century –

J'îrons tous, à la Saint Jean

Dànsaïr sus la Rocque Balan

[I am going at S. Jean

to dance on la Rocque Balan].<sup>94</sup>

– may preserve a memory of still greater "superstition" at this time. Certainly in Normandy, Brittany and other areas of France bonfires were lit and danced around at S. John's Eve. The Rocque Balan is in the Clos du Valle, a district with many supernatural associations.<sup>95</sup> The connection of rituals like these with the Church calendar again served to contribute to a collective experience of religious time.

To return nearer the bosom of the Church, many saints' days were also celebrated. These included the anniversaries of minor fraternity patrons like S. Gatian, S. "Gergon" (Gorgo) – both remembered at Tours – and S. Maur, to whom there was a fraternity dedicated at S. André.<sup>96</sup> Better known patrons like Ste Barbe, S. Nicholas, Ste Catherine<sup>97</sup> and Our Lady herself,



together with the feasts of All Saints and the potent symbol of the Crucifix<sup>98</sup> were also commemorated.

The parish churches must have had their own patronal festivals. There is no direct evidence of this, but such celebrations were usually held, often in the churches themselves, in England ("wakes") and France.<sup>99</sup> It is unlikely that Guernsey did not share the custom. MacCulloch made a slight case that nineteenth-century meetings near the church of S. Samson on Sunday afternoons in August were the survival of assemblées such as were common in Normandy and Brittany.<sup>100</sup> These were an extraordinary remnant, perhaps, of a once ordinary practice.

Guernsey's pre-Reformation community experienced the annual ritual cycles of the celebrations of obits, remembrances, the giving of doles, the payments of rents at Michaelmas to fraternities and to churches for burials, lights and memorials. There were public celebrations, others organised by fraternities, and still others which arose in connection with private memorials, drawing in the wider community (including "the age group of the dead")<sup>101</sup> as well. There were the shorter rhythms of weekly services, nightly devotions typified by the le Marquants' school, and the ringing of bells at daily services and at intervals in the

day. These cycles and this religious calendar provided the temporal framework of Christian life.

(ii) the calendar of secular life

This is not the whole story, for the secular too was saturated with what were essentially religious understandings of time. Several calendar events were not strictly ecclesiastical but nonetheless shared a strongly hallowed character. The grammar of the church calendar generally was applied to secular events. Religious time was pervasive in pre-Reformation mentalities.

The main Royal Court sessions of the year, Ples Capitaux, at which the greater part of legislation was made, were called S. Michiel, Nouel and Pasques. They were held with some ceremony about the times of these feasts. They were given a further religious connection by the calling at them of the names of the ecclesiastical seigneurs who had been deprived in the early fifteenth century.<sup>102</sup> The Court often referred to the church calendar in its everyday work, for example malefactors were sometimes given until Toussaints to quit the island.

Both ecclesiastical and secular rents almost invariably were due on S. Michael's Day. The world of business was familiar with the

religious year, and secular accounts might be dated le jour Saynt Jaques appostre, or the landemyn du jour Saynt barnabey.<sup>103</sup> In 1520 an apprenticeship to a silversmith was made Le jour notre dame marcheque (Maria in Marcio).<sup>104</sup> Jean Girart recorded the receipt of a rent on his field Le samedi landemain du jour Saynt cleir.<sup>105</sup> He went so far as to note buying a pair of shoes on the Sunday after S. Jean in 1571.<sup>106</sup> Old habits died hard.

These few examples demonstrate the religious vocabulary of the calendar of everyday life. Accounts were reckoned by religious feasts, civil contracts reckoned from them. A person even associated the purchase of a pair of shoes with S. John's Day. Secular business absorbed the sacred in these ways and others.

### (iii) material life

Other components of material life had equally strong religious elements. A debt was settled (as late as 1569 – a fact to remember later) near the cross of le Villocq (enpres la + du villoc), maybe with the intention of giving the transaction an unimpeachable witness.<sup>107</sup> Perhaps with similar motives, the courts of various fiefs met in churchyards or near to churches.

That of fief Jean de Gaillard met at S. Sauveur, and the court of fief le Comte habitually assembled in the chapel of S. George. The court of fief Anneville met in the chapel of S. Thomas, and the court of fief S. Michel met variously in the churchyards of S. Michel du Valle and Ste Marie du Castel.<sup>108</sup> Contracts made before the latter were sealed with a representation of the Church overcoming evil in the form of S. Michael piercing the devil with his lance. This potent – even apotropaic – portrait is also found on the fifteenth-century seal used by the court of fief le Comte, which shows Michael between the letters S and M.<sup>109</sup>

Other seals, both private and official, had religious aspects, including those applied as counterseals by the senechaux of these courts, and to Royal Court documents by bailiffs and their lieutenants. Those illustrating merchants' marks which are topped with a device like the figure four represent the action of good Christians in blessing themselves. Other counterseals show merchants' marks incorporating the symbol of the Cross itself.<sup>110</sup> In pleasing variation, the counterseal used by the lieutenant bailiff James le Feyvre (a jurat 1507–c.1530) depicts the nimbus and banner of the agnus dei.<sup>111</sup> The signet ring of Pierres de Beauvoir, used by him as Bailiff 1470–80, survives, and is still more explicitly religious.<sup>112</sup> It shows a pelican in her piety on a central panel, with the Virgin and Child and S. Michael



and a dragon respectively on either side. By such devices a sacred character was added to secular business. Transactions were validated by the presence of religious symbols.

In a like manner validity was given to secular contracts – conveyances and others – by the usual practice of completing them in the parish churches, en audience de paroisse.<sup>113</sup> Thus besides completing transactions with their neighbours as witnesses, parties must often have been aware of completing them in the presence of God and his saints.

Elections of jurats to the Royal Court were given their own spiritual dimension by a connection with the Church. Writing in the late seventeenth century, Lord Hatton reported how

the ancient Custome was till about 100 yeares since, for the Constable of each parish to take the voices of all the Inhabitants of their parish att the church doors immediately after divine service and according to the majorite of those voices the Jurats were upon vacancies elected <sup>114</sup>

Whether the fact was always recognised by the community or not, these were some of the ways in which material life intertwined with the spiritual.

(iv) Guernsey's religious geography

a. the Chevauchée du Roi

The island's geography itself had strongly religious elements. This is exemplified in another part of the business of the court of fief S. Michel: the triennial perambulation over several of the island's roads both on the fief and elsewhere, known as the chevauchée du roi ("the king's ride", or "cavalcade").<sup>115</sup> This dated from the Middle Ages.<sup>116</sup> By it the manorial court exercised its peculiar right and obligation to inspect the royal highway for obstructions and encroachments. The chevauchée was held in May. In 1530, for example, the manorial court of the fief of the Priory of S. Michel du Valle, as it called itself, ordered "that the King's cavalcade shall be the Monday next after S. Nicolas' day in the month of May".<sup>117</sup>

Before the Crown's seizure of the Priory, the prior had furnished the procession with meals. By the sixteenth century this duty had devolved to the King's Receiver. According to a judgement of 1439, confirmed in 1572, he was to provide the outsetting party with bread and wine at the Priory door, the same fare when it arrived at the door of S. Pierre Port church – at a round table with a cloth – and bread and drink at the Portes de Pleinmont, at

Guernsey's south-western extremity. All finished up with dinner on return to the Priory.<sup>118</sup>

The chevauchée's route passed several wayside crosses, probably as many as nine.<sup>119</sup> This may well have been intentional, although in truth it was difficult to travel far without encountering a wayside cross. T.W.M. de Guerin listed fifty-four of these.<sup>120</sup> To his list may be added the croix Thomelin in S. Pierre Port,<sup>121</sup> a crouyes de pierre in Ste Marie du Castel, mentioned in 1560,<sup>122</sup> la croix Jehanne Collin recorded in 1551,<sup>123</sup> and la croyx de la touraille mentioned in 1528,<sup>124</sup> both in S. Samson's parish.

The chevauchée was organised in association with the King's Receiver by the manorial court of a former priory which still called itself as much. As indicated above, in the fifteen-twenties and thirties the Receiver was the priest André Powes. The party feasted twice at the Priory and once outside the island's main church, where it took bread and wine, a meal reminiscent of the eucharist.

The chevauchée's performance closely resembled a religious procession, such as a Corpus Christi procession, a fraternity funeral (the attendants carried lances, just like batonniers



apparently carried staffs), or the procession entour le monstier de Seint Michel du Vale which in 1324 had been the subject of a petition of the inhabitants of five parishes.<sup>125</sup> It occurred regularly and, like Rogationtide processions, had a religious tone despite its ostensibly secular purpose. In these ways the quasi-religious character of the chevauchée was dispersed along the King's highway, a fact which did not go un-noticed by commentators of the Protestant era.<sup>126</sup>

#### b. the Bull of 1481

Finally, a religious geography can be said to have incorporated the whole island, quite demonstrably. Its lands, shores and waters were truly a sort of formal religious space.

This was so by virtue of a Bull of Sixtus IV dated 27 February 1481.<sup>127</sup> The Bull recited that piracy was a problem in the Channel Islands, mentioning how attackers had desecrated churches, including S. Pierre Port, carried off sacred vessels, and injured and killed people. This recital in fact appears to have been based on events occurring as long before as the early fourteenth century.<sup>128</sup>

All the same, piracy and war remained of concern to the



islanders, and to prevent the repetition of attacks the Pope threatened to excommunicate raiders. This not only protected Guernsey from pirates, but the Bull and associated legislation of Henry VIII, the French Crown and the Duchy of Brittany <sup>129</sup> effectively made the island neutral in wartime, allowing trade to develop and continue at such times.<sup>130</sup>

Generally, the privilege of neutrality was respected. In 1521 a boat owned by Thomas Compton (the Captain's lieutenant and later bailiff) was returned to him by the French "to the uttermost penye".<sup>131</sup> Compton had a still closer experience of the advantages of neutrality two years later, when merchants on the local barque le Jehan were captured by a galley of Morlaix. By virtue of the Bull the Guernseymen, together with their cargo of cloth, lead, tin and other goods were released.<sup>132</sup>

The traditional limit of the privilege of neutrality was an area extending "at such spaces and distances ... as the sight of man goes to, or the eye of man reaches".<sup>133</sup> Thus by an act of the Church, Guernsey's religious geography stretched to the horizon.

Time and space in Guernsey on the eve of the Reformation often meant, in social terms, religious time and geography. Material life too had many religious associations. When the author of the

Dedicace des Eglises, a late sixteenth-century satire on the Catholic Church, called Guernsey l'Isle Sainte he was probably mocking a memory.<sup>134</sup> If so, it was the memory of the vital religious content of the island's pre-Reformation culture.

### Conclusion

Chapter One of this study identified a concern with stability and the preservation of a strict social order as characteristic of Guernsey's pre-Reformation polity. These preoccupations were reinforced by religious belief and practice.

The small involvement of the Diocese in island life and the degree of dependency of the priesthood on the laity meant that the Church was subject to lay influence and, in some respects, lay control. In turn, local religious practice gave a spiritual endorsement to secular authority, especially that of the pre-eminent local power, the Royal Court.

The spiritual element in political life is well exemplified in the career of the island's most prominent lay official. If anyone can be said to have set the religious pace in Guernsey immediately before the Reformation it is not a churchman, but James Guille, the Bailiff 1511–38. He founded and represented the most

impressive fraternity, based at the Sepulchre Chapel in the centre of the town. He was also the patron of the chapel of S. Michel, just to the north of it, in or just off the town's main street.<sup>135</sup> He was collecteur at S. Pierre Port church,<sup>136</sup> and, as shown below, he was responsible for the Valor Ecclesiasticus in the island.

In the Good Friday dole given by the Cherite fraternity at the door of the Sepulchre Chapel, at which Guille and others distributed the cakes qui estoient parties en quatre, we see what might be called a secular communion in action. Being marked with a cross, the cakes imitated the host, if they were not unconsecrated mass wafers themselves. They were "administered" to a congregation of the poor. A sacrificial analogy may be found in the charity of the donors. Guille, as a representative of the political edifice and elite interests thus demonstrated the largesse of the established power in the island's main square in front of its main church. In common with other charity, this ritual distribution of gaches reinforced the social hierarchy.

Charity did not operate just as a one-way process, however. It was a reciprocal activity from which both parties anticipated benefit. Donors anticipated the prayers of recipients and satisfaction for their good works.<sup>137</sup> This rationale is most



explicit in gifts made to all households in a given parish, needy or not. By such gifts benefactors sought the gratitude (and prayers) of all inhabitants. Thus common interests were served and a sense of community was expressed through the reciprocity of traditional Catholic charity.

This conclusion is not contradicted by the harsh treatment meted out to vagrants and some beggars. Huizinga expressed a "contrast of cruelty and of pity" eloquently when he wrote that in this period "the sick, the poor, the insane, are objects of that deeply moved pity, born of a feeling of fraternity ... on the other hand, they are treated with incredible hardness or cruelly mocked".<sup>138</sup> Similar social attitudes underlay charity. Those who meekly accepted charity and behaved as obediently as the establishment demanded were tolerated and indeed regarded as a source of posthumous advantage. Those who did not – who refused to play their allotted role in "the mutual economy of salvation" – suffered accordingly. The requirements the authorities laid down before charity might be given to the poor and needy served to define the proper place of some in the community, and to place others outside it, beyond the pale.

The practice of charity and attitudes underlying it well illustrate the socially-cohesive role of religion in the life of the island. If not



always so apparent, other aspects of religious belief and practice similarly served to maintain an ordered sense of community. The Royal Court was not the only political body with functions sanctified by spiritual connections: the composition of the estatz, for example, reveals an important religious dimension, with the clergy attending as an estate. The elections of jurats and the prévôt by the estatz (after polls taken in the parishes at the church door) gave a like religious sanction to these offices. The making of civil contracts, the assembling of manorial courts, and the other practices described above also had important religious aspects. The reckoning of time, the island's geography and its material life too had vital spiritual elements.

On the eve of the Reformation the Catholic religion was enmeshed in many aspects of island life. Lucien Febvre concluded that the same was the case throughout Christendom: "Whether one wanted to or not, whether one clearly understood or not, one found oneself immersed from birth in a bath of Christianity from which one did not emerge even at death".<sup>139</sup> This agrees with Professor Fletcher's opinion that "religion was the prime cohesive force of Tudor society".<sup>140</sup> Any threat to Guernsey's religion was, therefore, a threat to vital aspects of its administration and culture.

## Chapter Three

### REFORMATION: HENRY VIII TO MARY

Professor Muchembled has written that in France

The popular masses in the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries ... really practiced a group Christianity within the framework of multiple and interconnecting solidarities. In the family, in the medieval fraternities above all, within each age group, and in the guilds and corporations, a Christian cult found expression ...<sup>1</sup>

Previous chapters have exposed a similar "framework of multiple and interconnecting solidarities" in early sixteenth-century Guernsey.

It is in the nature of a framework to be self-supporting, and in Guernsey day to day religious practice owed relatively little to external influences. When the island's religious traditions were interfered with from outside, however, parts of the framework were threatened and some destroyed. These threats and the

consequences of religious change are our next subjects.

### The Henrician Reformation

#### (i) the Crown and the local Church

The early Reformation had very limited effects in Guernsey. There were no monasteries to seize, no major shrines to spoil, no other centres of pilgrimage to suppress. The advowsons and other property which the French religious houses had held had been in the hands of the English Crown for over a century. There was no tradition of anti-clericalism, no iconoclasm, and the visible manifestations of Catholicism remained in place.

One institution must be excepted though. This is the house of Cordelier Franciscans in S. Pierre Port. In 1536 on the orders of Thomas Cromwell the friars were returned to "theyr naturall contry", Normandy. The Captain's lieutenant, Thomas Compton, and the jurats and dean – whose name, significantly, is unknown – thereupon made a "true and veritable inventory of all suche goodes movable and stuff of household" of the friars. Compton's report to Cromwell gives an impression of an orderly dismissal, leading to no local protests, popular or elite.<sup>2</sup>

There are other indications that these foreign friars had no great local following. Dr Whiting has found in parts of England "lay gifts to the friars were frequent", and notes that in 1526 one Thomas Hamlyn of Totnes made a bequest to the Guernsey Franciscans.<sup>3</sup> No similar gifts by the local population are known, although dozens of documents mentioning rents donated to other religious bodies, for instance fraternities, survive. Neither does Compton's letter refer to any revenues received by the friars, although it does mention their moveable goods. Such revenues must have been small, if they existed at all.

Although obedient to Cromwell's order regarding the friars, the local authorities actively discouraged other royal encroachments. This is evident in their response to Henry's great Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535.<sup>4</sup> Compton and James Guille, the Bailiff, were required to return a certificate of "all possessions Spirituall" in the island, listing "Maners Landys Tentys [tenements] Oblacions Tithes or other profyttys or commodities whatsoever kynde or nature they been commyng or growing by any meanes to eny Spirituall persone or persones, and the same values by every partycularite convenient and requisite".

The certificate was duly provided.<sup>5</sup> In it, Compton and Guille stated that they "caused all the Curats and Chapelleins of your



[Majesty's] said Isle to compare and apere before us ... to ateste and certifie us of the truthe of the very true aporte and value of the said benefices aswell spiritual as temporal deubties due to the said parsons and Chapelleins". They set out the names of each of the parish churches and the amount each benefice was worth, together with an estimate of tithe income. The chapels of S. George and S. Brioc (which belonged, with others, to the seigneur of fief le Comte) and those of Lihou and "Our Ladye Mares" – both of which were the king's – similarly had their revenues listed.

Although making some response, then, the Bailiff and the Governor's lieutenant fell very far short of what was required of them. More chapels than these were active and had chaplains, not least those with which Guille himself was involved. Chantries and the hospital of S. Julien still functioned, and large amounts of "profyttys or commodities of whatsoever kynde", including land, were enjoyed by the parish churches. All escaped mention.

If not downright dishonest in the matter Guille and Compton certainly were "economical with the truth". Their return studiously avoided revealing anything which might have encouraged further investigations into Guernsey's spiritual revenues. We hear nothing else from England during Henry's reign concerning them.

It is clear that neither the Royal Court nor Compton – the resident representative of the English Crown – were hostile to the island's Catholic status quo, and indeed made efforts to protect it. The local influence of Sir Richard Long, the Captain, apparently was small. This might be accounted for by the age and infirmity which led to his resignation in 1545, a year before his death;<sup>6</sup> although his successor, Sir Peter Mewtis,<sup>7</sup> seems to have shown as little concern as Long with the island's religious life under Henry. The Crown itself apparently was more concerned with Guernsey's position as a frontier port and entrepôt than with the spirituality of its inhabitants. There was little religious interference from England in Guernsey under Henry VIII.

(ii) the Diocese and religious change

This same is true with regard to France and the exercise of diocesan authority. Coutances did not involve itself any more in the lives of Guernsey's laity in the early years of the Reformation than it had done earlier.

It is true that on one occasion the Bishop of Coutances, Phillippe de Cossé, tried to assert some rights in the Channel Islands. This took place in 1542 when he was reported to have sent "thither of late his officers (who hath attempted th'exercise of the

same [his jurisdiction] by th'authoritye of the said Bisshop of Rome) but also entended to repayre thither himself for the same purpose".<sup>8</sup> This was a blustering threat, considering that de Cossé failed to set foot anywhere in his diocese during his incumbency (1530–48).<sup>9</sup> With the support of the Admiral of France, the English Ambassador in Paris promptly quashed the Bishop's vaunted ambitions.<sup>10</sup>

The affair seems, typically, to have arisen out of the Bishop's financial self-interest rather than some new found pastoral concern. It is interesting to the student of Renaissance diplomacy, but made no apparent difference to Guernsey's religious life or allegiances.

### (iii) neutrality, religious change and the community

Similarly, it appears that the island's neutrality and rights of free trade were not feared for at this time, even though they stemmed from a Papal Bull. Perhaps confidence remained because the Bull had been endorsed by the French and English kings and the Duke of Brittany, who possessed the real power in local waters. Its observance was after all as much a matter of practice as of faith, and Henry's breach with Rome made little difference to local commercial practice. Writing in 1566, John After recognised that

the islands

have long tyme ben concerved in good seurtye ... by meanes chefelye of the favours and gra... [damaged, read graces] and privileges, extended oute of Englonde, the pattendes of ffraunce, and boules from Rome wheareby these said ysles have taken to themselves soche hope of seurtye, as none accompte hathe ben made, of anye daunger that chaunge of tyme or lacke of lyke favour myght yelde vnto them <sup>11</sup>

This was the islanders' opinion in 1566, and it must have been a long-standing one. Whatever the consequences of religious change in England, the attitude of Guernsey's merchants and their trading partners appears to have been "business as usual".

The same might be said with regard to liturgy. There is no record that the English Ten Articles of 1536, the injunctions of the same year, the "Bishops' Book" of the following, the injunctions of 1538 or the conservative Six Articles of 1539 were ever transmitted to Guernsey. Perhaps it did not occur to the Privy Council to do this, or perhaps the Council was wary of the island's situation in a foreign diocese. The introduction of the English Bible in French-speaking Guernsey would not of course have served any



purpose. The English Litany of 1544 would similarly have been incomprehensible to all but a few people, and no thought seems to have been given to providing translations of these works, as was later done with the Edwardian Prayer Books.

Of course some islanders may have protested at the confiscations and reforms in England and considered their local implications. In 1538 "a lewde pr[i]est call' d syr John lestok" was sent to London for questioning, having at Southampton "spokyn dyvrs seducios wurdes by the kinges highnes" in an ale house <sup>12</sup> – the classic location for "conspiracies, combinations, detractions, defamations"<sup>13</sup> and controversy, then as now. As the burghers of Southampton stated, Lestok had been "borne yn Garnesey", and he might have expressed similar views in his native island, where he spent at least some of his adult life.<sup>14</sup>

But this individual reaction to changes in England – if that is what it was – had no popular echo in Guernsey. A combination of English and French passivity, the deviousness of local officials, and a general attachment to traditional forms, ensured that for the time being the island's largely self-sufficient religious life continued.

## The Edwardian Reformation

In England at the end of Henry's reign there were limited confiscations of chantries and other intercessionary institutions. However, it was not until the first year of Edward VI that the certain end came for the rest. By An Acte wherby certain Chauntries Colleges Free Chappells and Possessions of the same be given to the Kings Majeste (1 Ed.VI c. 14),<sup>15</sup> all confraternities, obits, and much of the paraphernalia of popular religious practice were submitted to the scrutiny of commissioners.<sup>16</sup> The commissioners closed down the great majority of English institutions serving the "cult of living friends in the service of dead ones".<sup>17</sup> Their revenues were seized by the Crown, and largely applied to the costs of war.

In England the Chantries Act of 1547 may well have affected the lives of the commonalty more than any previous Reformation statute had done. In Guernsey, where the role of the fraternities was equally significant, and to where (unlike the Henrician statutes) the law extended, it must have been perceived as a serious threat to religious life.

Eagleston confirms that the 1547 Act and the Act of Uniformity of 1549 "applied like the earlier [Reformation] acts to Jersey and

Guernsey, and were duly enforced there".<sup>18</sup> The Acts indeed technically "applied". That of 1547 provided that "all fraternities brotherheddes and guyldes being within the Realme of Englande and Wales and other the Kinges Dominions", should, with few exceptions, vest in the Crown. The Act of Uniformity of 1549 similarly referred to "all the Kinges Dominions".

And certainly the 1547 Act took effect in Jersey. There the revenues of "obyte lands", masses, and monies raised by the removal of bells (save for one at each church) were on Privy Council orders – and in accordance with English precedent – spent on defence works and pensions for newly redundant priests.<sup>19</sup> Yet Eagleston, confusing the affairs of Jersey and Guernsey with an infelicity not unknown amongst his countrymen, was incorrect to conclude that it was similarly "enforced" in Guernsey.<sup>20</sup>

This was a period of military unease in waters around the Channel Islands, culminating in the occupation of Sark by French troops on 31 July 1549, a few days before the declaration of war by Henri II.<sup>21</sup> This led in the 1550s to extensive improvements being made to Castle Cornet, within sight of the occupied island.<sup>22</sup> Despite war and rumours of war though, Guernsey's Catholic revenues were by no means treated as they were in

Jersey. The 1547 Act providing for the confiscation of fraternity and other revenues was avoided. No commissioners visited the island, fraternity funds were concealed and protected, and intercessionary institutions continued to function.

The Royal Court inspired and provided the devices for the avoidance of the Act. Struggling to maintain credibility in Elizabeth's time, when these matters came to light, the Court claimed that it had itself taken possession of

Church goodes of the graunt of the late King Edward by a bill signed with the handes of the Master of the Requestes to his highnes whervpon they solde most of the plate and Jewells of the said Isle, and certain of the Rentes of the Churches and frairies, wherwith they bought certein peces of ordynnance and other munitions ...<sup>23</sup>

The records of Guernsey's Edwardian Royal Court and the English Court of Requests are silent on the matter,<sup>24</sup> and the making of such a grant by the latter would seem in any event to have been ultra vires.<sup>25</sup>

In fact, despite the alienation under Edward of some small amounts of fraternity revenues for defence purposes, under



Elizabeth the island found itself with Church funds largely intact, fraternities still in operation, and embarrassing amounts of lands, rents and "ornements Churche plate Juelles and mettall"<sup>26</sup> still employed for Catholic purposes.

What seems to have actually happened in Edward's time is that the authorities responded to the threat posed by the 1547 Act as they had with regard to the Valor Ecclesiasticus. That is to say, with dissimulation.

Four documents <sup>27</sup> published by the Royal Court show how it went about collecting token contributions in order to shield by far the greater parts of Guernsey's fraternity revenues from English eyes. The first of these states that on 10 December 1548,

there appeared in person before us, to wit, all the douzaine with the captains, constables and other worthies [gens de bien] of the parish of la Trinité de la Forêt, who all of one consent and agreement requested and humbly desired us ... [to give] permit and licence to sell some rents of the said parish, representing to us that the said parish is simple, poor and of small value, and that it is not able to satisfy the quantity and amount of money [required] to pay the taxes to supply the artillery [les taillyes pour

delivrer l'artillerie] which they have been adjudged, ordered and enjoined to deliver, seek out and collect for the maintaining, safeguard and public good of all this island of Guernsey

The Court recorded that,

after ... due consideration according to the command of monsignour our Captain <sup>28</sup> permit and licence was given and granted to sell ... the sum and number of eight quarters of annual wheat rent on [sic] the foundation of Jesus, the tresor [the parish church fund], and the obits of the said parish.

Against a similar background, on 29 November 1549 the representatives of the fraternity of Notre Dame at S. Pierre Port made a conveyance "at the request of the douzaine and parishioners of all the said S. Pierre Port, authorised by them in court to sell and alienate for an estate of inheritance rents due to the confraternity of Notre Dame of the said parish pour la republique". So authorised, they allowed the redemption of one bushel of wheat rent which had been owed to the fraternity by Jean de la Marche. The sale was guaranteed on the security of "all the remaining rents belonging to the said frayre".

On 21 December 1549 the fraternity of Jesus at S. Pierre du Bois likewise conveyed back to the guardian of Leonard le Mesurier his liability to pay a bushel of annual wheat rent. The sale again was made

to buy certain artillery and other munitions for the war for the protection and safeguard of all this island of Guernsey, and to keep and maintain it in the hands and allegiance of our lord Edward VI King of England, and for the support of, and to relieve the indigence of, the community of the said parish, wherefor it was ordered by the Court to seek out and collect a large sum of money to buy the said artillery and munitions

As was the case with the sale at S. Pierre Port the previous month, the transaction was guaranteed sus tout le resydu de la dite frerie, indicating that the sum sold represented just a part of its revenues. And it was a small part, since, as will be recalled, a bushel of wheat rent was equivalent to the annual subscription for just two fraternity members.

The last of these documents referring to a tax drawn from the fraternities in order to buy munitions is dated 22 January 1553.

By this the attorneys of Notre Dame at S. Michel du Valle, "duly

authorised by the court and by the election, will and consent of the douzaine and worthies [gentz de bien] of the said parish", sold a cabotel of wheat rent back to the priest Jean Huet. The deed recited the same reasons for the sale as had been put forward by the fraternity of Jesus at S. Pierre du Bois. It added that "this sale is made to relieve, acquit and help to pay a certain tax [une certain taillie] which the said parish is subjected to and constrained to pay to have certain munitions and defences for the protection and safeguard of the whole island". The deed went on to record that the parish "was constrained by the Court to search out and collect a great amount of money to buy the said munitions and defences".

Thus to the casual glance of outsiders it might appear that Guernsey's authorities had spent fraternity funds and other Catholic revenues on the defence of the island, and without the necessity of a visit from English commissioners to enforce this, as occurred in Jersey. But this was far from the whole picture. The rents which were sold off represented only a minute part of the revenues of these fraternities, and other fraternities apparently were untouched by the taille altogether.

The tax in fact appears to have been levied on the parishes by the Court, with the consent of the community, either to subvert a



now lost order of the Privy Council requiring the enforcement of the 1547 Act and confiscation of fraternity funds, or as a means of pre-empting the visit of commissioners, or for both these reasons. The Court could plead (as indeed it did to Elizabeth) that some revenues had been applied to defences.<sup>29</sup> It was politic not to declare actual amounts, however, since these were relatively tiny.

The independent and somewhat subversive spirit which had been shown with regard to the Valor Ecclesiasticus continued to shape policy under Edward VI. It is apparent that the fraternities and other Catholic institutions retained the affection of the local elite and – whilst a sop was offered to English ambitions – means were found to protect them. Guernsey's Royal Court acted to preserve the status quo.

In another respect the Court positively promoted the interests of fraternities and Church funds at this time, by a further action which probably was taken with a view to protecting them from English hands. By an ordinance of 12 November 1548 the Court ordered, par l'assent des communitiez de l'isle, that henceforth all fraternity collecteurs and parish church tresoriers might seize the goods of those indebted to them, whether for rents, leases or burial fees, and thereupon sell such goods by auction (au cry du

marchy) to settle debts without further legal process.<sup>30</sup> This again indicates the Court's wariness towards the English Act. The ordinance increased the powers of fraternity and Church officers, at the same time removing the collection of debts from the purview of the Royal Court. The Court must have reasoned that, other than when passing the original law, little collaboration by the local authorities in the preservation of Catholic dues could be alleged.<sup>31</sup>

In fact other business relating to the fraternities still continued to come before the Court after 1548, since sometimes the legal rights and obligations of the associations could not conveniently be ignored. Several saisie actions, for example, reflect this.<sup>32</sup> Thus in the Court's registers known as Vers en Plaids, in which such proceedings were enrolled, in 1547 and the next year the collecteurs of Jesus at S. Martin were "in mercy to" (amercy vers) Collas le Patourel, the saisi of Pierres Queripel, and the collecteur of Jesus, again, was vers Pierres Bonamy in 1548.<sup>33</sup> In this latter action the Court officer called the prévôt was actually joined in the proceedings ex officio. Similarly in a case going on in 1549 and the following year the same officer was joined to answer for the defaulting Jean Maryn in an action against him by the attorney of the light of S. Maur at the church of S. André (le procureur du lumynayre Saint mor de la paroesse de Saint

andry).<sup>34</sup>

Besides saisie proceedings, other civil actions referring to fraternities occur in the Court's records. Thus Nicollas Garie was actioned by lez collecteurs de Sainte Katherine du catel in 1548.<sup>35</sup> The registers called Namps (ie. "distrained goods") record other proceedings, such as that taken against the collecteur of Notre Dame at S. André in 1550, or another, against Jacquet Clouet by the collecteur of Jesus, S. Pierre du Bois, in February 1552.<sup>36</sup> The collecteur du luminaire de Saynt nicollas of S. Pierre du Bois was in Court in 1552, and is mentioned at least five times thereafter in a case which continued through Edward's reign and into that of Mary.<sup>37</sup>

The manorial courts too continued to acknowledge intercessory institutions. On 6 February 1552 the court of fief S. Michel at the Castel was hearing a matter involving Jean Effart, the procureur de la messe de notre dame.<sup>38</sup> Similarly on 25 October 1552 the collecteur de notre dame de pity was before it.<sup>39</sup>

The charitable role of the fraternities also continued to be exercised publicly. An enquiry into alms-giving was instituted in 1581.<sup>40</sup> The memories of several witnesses to the enquiry confirmed that under Edward traditional benevolences had

continued. Collas du Maresq, aged thirty-eight, deposed that fifteen quarters of wheat annually had been distributed to the poor by the bâtonniers of the fraternity of Notre Dame des Clers, S. Sauveur, until the visit of the commissioners. No commissioners visited Guernsey until Elizabeth's reign.<sup>41</sup> Jean Rouget testified that he had known the same dole being made some sixty years before 1581, until the coming of the commissioners. Pierre Jehan, aged thirty-six, confirmed that he had seen (quil a veu) thirteen denerels of wheat distributed in alms by the fraternity of Toussaints in Torteval parish. Thomas Mauger of S. Martin, aged sixty-six, stated that fifteen quarters of wheat had been given "in bread in pure alms for as long as he could remember to each hearth in the said parish until the coming of the commissioners to this island" – a memory confirmed by, amongst others, Collas l'Estoc aged fifty-five.<sup>42</sup>

Although some of the older witnesses remembered Guille's distribution of gaches at the Bellefroy and other doles and could not recall when they stopped, this 1581 enquiry overwhelmingly shows that Catholic charity continued until the early part of Elizabeth's reign without interruption.

There are indications that the Court's Catholic sympathies extended beyond the protection offered to the fraternities. In



June 1551 it heard an action involving Sire Pierres le lacheur procureur des clers de la Fourest.<sup>43</sup> Its records also mention sire Thomas Brian (or Briant) who was still chaplain of the Cherite's Bellefroy chapel between 1550 and November 1553. Chantry clerks and confraternity chaplains must therefore have been tolerated for some (perhaps all) of Edward's reign.

More suggestive still of continuing traditional practices and elite sympathy for them is found in an order of the Court of July 1550.<sup>44</sup> By this one Michelle Vallet was required to return to Lucas Myllet "... a feather bed, two documents sealed with the Bailiwick seal, a white bonnet, and a pair of paternosters worth five silver marks, and a cloth girdle [or belt], and a silver buckle belonging to the said girdle [or belt], and a quarter [measure] of pewter". These paternostres were strings of beads which were used to count off prayers, similar in construction and function to rosaries.<sup>45</sup> In Jersey, on 8 March 1553, a husband was sent to prison because his wife had refused to surrender a paire de paternosters which she had taken to church.<sup>46</sup> Such things were anathema to the Protestantism being enforced there and in England. The attitude of Guernsey's authorities to Catholic devotional objects was very different.

It is therefore clear that whilst the Royal Court acted to distance

itself from fraternity activities it nonetheless favoured Catholicism, under both Jean Herivel (Bailiff 1545–49)<sup>47</sup> and his successor Helier Gosselin, who stayed in office until 1562. The continuation of fraternities and obits, the provision of charity, the employment of fraternity chaplains and chantry clerks, and the possession of articles like paternosters were all intimately connected with the Catholic doctrine of the efficacy of works. Since these things continued to exist one must conclude that their raison d'être continued as well; that the community still hoped that their works would speed the souls of their friends, family and themselves through Purgatory. On the whole, the community, elite and commons alike, remained Catholic.

### Protestantism and the Royal Court

Yet in spite of this evidence antiquarians have concluded quite the opposite: that in Guernsey under Edward Protestantism was accepted tout court.<sup>48</sup> They have not found or have misunderstood the material presented above, whilst they have found and used that to which we now turn.

The violence of the Court's Catholicism in Mary's time has long been remarked on, and some writers have seen this as an obsequious over-reaction to Protestant conformity under

Edward.<sup>49</sup> And in truth some religious change did occur in Guernsey in his reign. Against the background of the Court's discreet support for the traditional faith, there were some paradoxical public alterations in established religion.

If Eagleston was incorrect to conclude that the 1547 Chantries Act was enforced in Guernsey, he was nearer the mark with regard to other acts of the Edwardian Reformation.<sup>50</sup> The Act of Uniformity of 1549 may well have been enforced in the island, and the Second Act of Uniformity, of 1552, certainly was.

The first of these stated that it was to operate in the "Realme of Englande ... [and] other the Kinges Dominions".<sup>51</sup> The First Prayer Book which it introduced was duly translated into French, at the command of Sir Hugh Paulet, the governor of both Calais and Jersey.<sup>52</sup> On 15 April 1550 the Privy Council wrote to the Jersey authorities thanking them for "following and embrasing his majestys lawes and procedinges in thorder of the Devyne service and ministracion of the sacramentes".<sup>53</sup> The Council went on to request that Jersey should "use the service and other orders apperteyning to the same and to the mynystracion of the sacramentes set furth in the bokes sent to you presentlye".

It is therefore highly likely that the First Prayer Book was sent to

Jersey and used there. Whether the Latin mass was abolished and replaced with Prayer Book services in Guernsey cannot now be said, though the Act providing for these things applied there, and the Council must have intended that the Book should be used throughout the Channel Islands.

The Council was occupied with two Guernsey cases, one in April 1551 and the other in the following year which may have concerned reactions to religious alterations.<sup>54</sup> The first case was about a "rebellion attempted in Saint Marten's parish", and the second "a wooman accused to have spoken certain lewde woordes". Unfortunately, neither the Council records nor those of the Royal Court spell out any more about what might have been popular reactions to religious change imposed from outside the island.

By the time of the First Act of Uniformity Catholic relations with Coutances must have been severed as well. The diocesan registers contained no reference to the installation of priests to Guernsey livings after the appointment of Jacques Amy to S. Sauveur and the deanship of the island in October 1547.<sup>55</sup>

There is more evidence to suggest that the Second Act of Uniformity was enforced in Guernsey. This again applied to all



the King's dominions,<sup>56</sup> and the French edition of the First Prayer Book was revised for use in the Channel Islands. On 26 August 1552 Cranmer wrote to Cecil that the translation of the 1549 edition had been altered to accord with the English draft of the Second Prayer Book, "by a learned frenchman a doctor in divinity".<sup>57</sup> The following year saw the publication of the Livre des Prieres Communes, De l'administration des sacremens & autres Ceremonies en l'Eglise de l'Angleterre. This was said to be "traduit en Francoys par Francoys Philippe, seruiteur de Monsieur le grand Chancelier d'Angleterre", and published "De l'imprimerie de Thomas Gaultier, Imprimeur du Roy en la langue Francoise, pour les Isles de sa Magesté [sic"]".<sup>58</sup>

In England, the Act of Uniformity of 1552 and the introduction of the Second Prayer Book brought the high tide of the Protestant Reformation. And as in England, in Guernsey the mass was banished from the parish churches, a fact confirmed by Ollyvier le Feyvre's statement of 1553 reproduced below. Whether or not Philippe's Livre des Prieres was actually introduced into the island before Edward's death (6 July 1553) cannot now be said. The question is largely immaterial. The loss of the central Catholic act of worship was revolutionary enough in itself.

Apart from imagining how some – perhaps many – members of

the traditional community reacted to this, little can be established about the effects of religious change at this time. Communion tables may have replaced altars, as they did in England after 1550, and statuary and images perhaps were removed from churches. Actions like these may have been referred to in Court in 1554 when a row which had its roots in Edwardian days flared up. The prévôt accused Trohardy, the controlle (the Crown's junior advocate) of being unworthy to plead in Court until he had been cleared of calling it a despoiler of churches (que cest ung depradeur deglizes).<sup>59</sup> Although probably not referring to violent iconoclasm, Trohardy's remarks may not have been without foundation.

Whatever the private opinions of its members, the Royal Court did submit to the enforcement of some English policy in Edward's time. It had little choice in the matter, and religious sentiment had to yield to political expediency. The Captain, Sir Peter Mewtis, was a Protestant and a supporter of Northumberland's. Early in Mary's reign, in September 1553, the Spanish ambassadors reported that he "had followed the late Duke of Northumberland with 400 men against the said Queen".<sup>60</sup> They went on to state that Mewtis or a servant of his had "wounded a passer-by twice with his dagger in a certain [English] village ... because the man wanted mass to be said at the village". This

report, taken with Mewtis' local reputation, indicated below, show that he cannot be pigeonholed as one of those Englishmen who at the beginning of Mary's reign "placed peace, unity and lawful succession to the throne before any ... religious causes".<sup>61</sup> He exercised more direct power in Guernsey than had his recent predecessors, being resident for periods in the 1550s when much building went on at Castle Cornet.<sup>62</sup> His influence, like Paulet's in Jersey,<sup>63</sup> should not be underestimated.

Mewtis' undoubted Protestantism and the progress of the Reformation in England (and in Normandy)<sup>64</sup> meant that Guernsey's Royal Court had to bow to the English Act of 1552 and the mass went from its parish churches for a few months until Edward's death in July 1553.

In spite of the elite and popular support which the old religion still commanded, by 1552 the central liturgical alterations of the Edwardian Reformation embodied in the Acts of Uniformity could not be ignored. The celebration of mass in a parish church was not a discreet performance, rather it was the central and most obvious demonstration of Catholic belief. The Court could not turn a blind eye towards its continuance under a Protestant Captain, a Protestant Privy Council, and with a now unknown number of Protestant evangelists, ministers and citizens living in

the island.

### Protestantism in the community

This Protestant group deserves examination. A sympathetic English regime, the harsh edicts of Henri II of France, and evangelical zeal, all acted to draw Huguenots to the island in Edward's reign. The progress of Protestantism in Guernsey was advanced by the presence of these French evangelists and refugees.<sup>65</sup>

According to the Huguenot martyrologist Jean Crespin, the evangelist Denis le Vair was in Guernsey towards the end of Edward's reign.<sup>66</sup> Le Vair was a native of Fontenay in lower Normandy. After quitting the Catholic priesthood he established himself running books from Geneva to France. Crespin says that le Vair visited Jersey and Guernsey, where he became a village minister. It seems unlikely that he was appointed to a benefice, and perhaps Crespin referred to a congregation he established. On Mary's accession le Vair fled to Normandy, where he was captured and burned at Rouen in 1554.

We also know of two other Protestant ministers in Guernsey in Edward's reign, thanks to John Foxe and the Catholic apologist



Harding, who goaded Foxe into providing more information about the notorious Cauches affair in the 1570 edition of the martyrologist's Actes and Monuments (first published in English in 1563).<sup>67</sup>

The first of the ministers mentioned by Foxe was David Jores, another Norman. Jores was married to the martyr Perotine Massy, Foxe says, "in king Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's-castle parish at Guernsey". Foxe goes on to reveal that Jores and Massy were married by a further Protestant minister "called master Noel Regnet a Frenchman, and yet alive ... and now [c. 1570] dwelling in London, in St. Martin's-le-grand".

Like le Vair, Jores fled to Normandy on Mary's accession, and so escaped sharing his wife's horrible fate. Regnet too left the island at this event, although in kinder circumstances, fleeing to Geneva.<sup>68</sup> As Foxe says, he later worked as a minister in England. His name occurs on a list made by de Beze of Calvinist evangelists in England, which also shows he was dict des Lairmeaux and had been minister of Lieuray (Eure).<sup>69</sup>

The success of these ministers and other evangelists cannot be expressed statistically. Nor can the influence of Protestant literature (which was common in Normandy)<sup>70</sup> upon the

islanders be gauged. Certainly though there were some converts, both in the elite and amongst the common people. The martyrs Catherine Cauches and her daughters, for example, represent the latter group, and it appears that Perotine may have carried on business as a pawnbroker.<sup>71</sup> The progress Protestantism made amongst some ordinary people also is suggested in remarks uttered by Giret Ogier, a butcher, in July 1553, shortly after Mary's accession.<sup>72</sup> Two statements witnesses made against Ogier on 2 August 1553 are of considerable interest. They are virtually identical and it is worth citing one of them (in translation) in full:

Ollyvier le Feyvre aged twenty-five years or thereabouts, duly sworn, states and reports that on the twenty-ninth day of the month of July last, around eight or nine o'clock in the morning, coming into the public place and market of the town of S. Pierre Port, entering the Landes du Marché at the end of a road called la rue Bougourt, there being Ollyvier and Jacques Sohier and Giret Ogier with him at the said place, words arose between them. Whereupon Ollyvier said to Ogier "Thank God, we will have the mass again, though you will be very sorry Giret", and that he was praying to God to give a good victory to the Queen. Whereupon Giret said that he [Ollyvier] was praying

against our Captain [Mewtis] and that our Captain was in the war against her with a great English lord [Northumberland]; and [Ollyvier] says that Giret said that the Queen had been declared a bastard by her father shortly before he died. Which things he states and refers to as a true liege and subject of the aforesaid Queen:

[signed] Olivier le favre

Giret might have known of the declaration in French of Jane's claim to the throne (published in England, like the translated Prayer Book, by Thomas Gaultier).<sup>73</sup> His assertion that Henry had declared Mary illegitimate shortly before his death recalls that document's statement, immediately after mentioning the King's will, that both Mary and Elizabeth had been declaréez Illegitimes by their father.<sup>74</sup> Jane may even have been proclaimed queen in Guernsey at Mewtis' instigation. Whatever was the case, there is in Giret's words and in the Cauches matter evidence that Protestantism appealed to some menu peuple in Guernsey.

Outside the Royal Court, some members of the local elite, too, espoused Reformed ideas. Pierre de Beauvoir (Bailiff 1572–81) and his wife were Marian exiles in Geneva,<sup>75</sup> and other local gentry may have shared their faith, perhaps influenced by Mewtis and Huguenot ministers like the well-connected Regnet.



Yet it must be recalled that throughout Edward's reign the Royal Court in so far as it could shielded Catholic practice and protected the interests of the fraternities. There is no indication that under Edward Catholic rituals and still less traditional mentalities vanished altogether from the houses and the private chapels of the lay elite, from fraternities meeting in private with priests, or from the hearts of people like Ollyvier le Feyvre.

At the end of Edward's reign then we see neither the ruin of Catholicism nor enthusiastic demonstrations of Protestantism. Traditional society was subjected to external pressures. The reaction of the Royal Court to these was subtly to favour tradition whilst bowing to legislation which it had to accept, and tolerating the presence of foreign Protestants. The popular reaction, very likely, was bewilderment.

### The Marian reaction

After Mary came to the throne in July 1553 these limited religious innovations were quickly overturned and Protestantism was controlled by the unsympathetic Royal Court. The English element in local government likewise changed its religious complexion: Mewtis, unsurprisingly, was removed from office after Northumberland's attempt to subvert the Tudor succession failed.



He was however fortunate enough to be pardoned for his part in the Duke's machinations.<sup>76</sup> Mewtis was succeeded by the Catholic Sir Leonard Chamberlain, who was appointed Captain of Guernsey on 25 September 1553.<sup>77</sup>

Mewtis' somewhat less seditious partisan Giret Ogier was held by the Royal Court in Castle Cornet, from whence he was sent on 10 January 1554 to England to collect the royal pardon which the Court anticipated he would receive.<sup>78</sup> It was duly granted, and enrolled in England on 20 April 1554.<sup>79</sup> By the same act of court which sent Ogier to England, the Protestant minister Noel Regnet was expelled from Guernsey par le premier bateau que il sen yra dehors.<sup>80</sup> He may be identified with the "M. Noël Reguet, natifz pres de Rouen" who was sworn an habitant of Geneva on 5 November 1554.<sup>81</sup> Some years later, he lived and worked in England, according to Foxe and to de Beze's list of evangelists in the country.

Other judgements of Guernsey's Royal Court show the care it took to see that the restored faith was properly respected. After the 1554 row between the prévôt and Trohardy, the controlle – who was accused of calling the Court a despoiler of churches – Trohardy had to apologise formally by performing an amende honorable and also pay a fine of seventy sous to the Crown.<sup>82</sup>

The Court had no wish to be reminded of its outward conformity under Edward.

The Court further demonstrated its Catholic orthodoxy in its treatment of one Guillaume Balein, whom it imprisoned on evidence given on 20 June 1555 by Jean de la Marche.<sup>83</sup> De la Marche reported how the previous day in his house

on communication that certain Cordeliers and preachers of the Order of Saint Francis, being in this island, were accepted as well by the spiritual as by the temporality, Balein said that these preachers were rascally thieves, cuckolders and buggers, and that they were worth nothing, nor were those that maintained them ...

Someone called Guillaume Ballen had stood surety for Giret Ogier,<sup>84</sup> and possibly this Balein was the same man. Whether or not this was so, and whether his remarks were prompted by Protestant sentiment or mere anticlericalism, clearly the Court was concerned to protect the reputation of the Franciscan Cordeliers who once again were free to preach in the island.

Catholicism was also protected through legislative enactments. On 1 October 1554 the Court ordered "that the feasts of nine

lessons and semi-doubles shall be observed and kept".<sup>85</sup> That it acted to preserve these minor feasts is another mark of its attachment to traditional religious practice. The Court was motivated by similar sentiments when by an ordinance of 5 October 1556 (and in renewals of the act in later years) it ordered that no one should keep a tavern open during church services, on pain of a sixty livrez fine.<sup>86</sup>

More remarkably, in 1556 the Court can be seen to have revived its respect for the ecclesiastical privilege of giving sanctuary – a thing which it had abandoned as long before as 1531.<sup>87</sup> In December 1556 one Pierres Pipet was sent away from the island for "his deeds and demerits" after taking refuge in a church, as were the thieves Rallff Nicolle and Drouet Vaudin, twelve months later.<sup>88</sup> In recognising the right of sanctuary the Court reacted against a quarter-century's practice, and revived a privilege which had been abrogated even before religious life was disturbed by the Reformation.

The Court's leniency towards offenders like Giret Ogier and the minister Regnet might suggest that it did not punish Protestant sentiments very severely. The notorious episode in the later part of Mary's reign briefly alluded to above points however to a very different conclusion.

The story of the arrest, hasty trial for heresy, and judicial burning on 17 July 1556 of Catherine Cauches and her daughters Perotine Massy and Guillemine Guilbert has long been well known. Foxe's accuracy in relating the affair is well established.<sup>89</sup> He published the first English edition of his Actes and Monuments in 1563, when the petition of Matthew Cauches, Catherine's brother, was before the "Queen's Highness's most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and determining of Matters of Religion and Causes Ecclesiastical", and followed up subsequent happenings in his edition of 1570.<sup>90</sup> Foxe also reported how he "received this story by the faithful relation both in the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers upon",<sup>91</sup> and he accurately printed the trial documents.

Foxe stated his facts were as "Thomas Effart saith and testifieth".<sup>92</sup> Effart's name crops up frequently in the next chapter. He was elected a jurat in 1558 and held office until 1580, when he died.<sup>93</sup> He would have had access to the trial papers (some of which still survive) and may also have been one of the "present witnesses" to the execution. The report of the Elizabethan Commissioners who investigated the matter also testifies to the accuracy of Foxe's account.<sup>94</sup>



In the light of these facts, then, I do not intend to try to improve on his characteristic "hugely impressive (if unashamedly Protestant) scholarship".<sup>95</sup> Rather some aspects of the affair which shed particular light on the discussion of religious change and relations in the community should be noted.

First there is the nature of the womens' "heresy". Perotine Massy – the daughter who gave birth as she perished in the flames – was married to the Norman minister David Jores. The Protestant sentiments of the women also are suggested in the report of their trial. After neighbours alleged that "to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient", they "made their answer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the queen and king, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of king Edward the sixth, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before".<sup>96</sup>

These sentences and the circumstantial evidence of Perotine's marriage confirm that the women were Protestants. Very likely, as the Royal Court heard, they had indeed "been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forsaking the mass".<sup>97</sup> This certainly is what was argued by the ecclesiastics of the Dean's court when they were called upon

to answer to Elizabeth's Commissioners for their actions. The Commissioners' report – which Foxe cannot have seen – reveals this, recording that the accused priests Jacques Amy, Thomas Colley and Guillaume Paquet claimed that after hearing witnesses against the women "it was prouvid that thei callid the sacrament John whit bread, and white John, and spoke against our ladie, and the Saintes, and dispraised the hoolie daies saying it was lawful to worke in them". Such mockery of the Catholic use of a wafer in the eucharist, words against the Virgin and her cult, and condemnation of the idea that some days were more holy than others, all accord with Huguenot and other advanced Protestant thinking.<sup>98</sup>

The women's reported willingness to conform to the Crown's religious requirements is not evidence of an Erastian point of view, but simply shows how frightened they were. (It also incidentally demonstrates Foxe's concern for the truth, even when this did not altogether support his argument). The women did, however, show some spirit in reminding the Court of its somewhat different behaviour under Edward.

The actions of the Royal Court in initiating the proceedings in the Dean's Court are suggestive of relations between the elite and the Church in this period. Although acquitted of the original

charge of theft heard in the secular court, on the almost chance remark that the women had not been obedient to religious requirements they were remanded by the Royal Court. On the same day the matter was turned over to the spiritual power. The Bailiff and the jurats were subsequently unsatisfied with the ecclesiastics' original condemnation of the women as heretics without actually having examined them as to their faith, and remitted the matter to the Ecclesiastical Court. They nonetheless showed respect for the spiritual jurisdiction of a sort which had hardly been shown in previous periods.

Such respect still was not shown, for example, in Jersey. In 1555, Jersey's Royal Court had refused to surrender the infanticidal (and clerically privileged) priest Richard Averty for trial by the dean.<sup>99</sup> Such a thing would not have happened in Guernsey. Encouraged very likely by the revival of English heresy laws after 1555, which acted to validate the execution of ecclesiastical sentences by secular courts,<sup>100</sup> and the burning of English Protestants after February 1555,<sup>101</sup> Guernsey's Royal Court responded to the presence of heresy in its jurisdiction with alacrity.

In direct legislation, then, the Court acted to restore respect for the old faith: it advanced the cause of religion by closing taverns

during services, it insisted minor festivals were observed, it protected the Cordeliers, and it restored sanctuary. By punishing Protestants ever more fiercely as its confidence grew and English precedent increasingly suggested, whether by expelling a minister, disciplining an individual who drew attention to events it was keen to forget, or in the horrible events of the Cauches trial and execution, the Royal Court expressed a strong enthusiasm for the Catholic faith.

As Chapter Two showed, there was no "Catholic reform" in Guernsey before the time of the English Reformation. This advancement of Catholicism in the reign of Mary must therefore be regarded as counter Reformation. It was a reaction against the Protestant tendencies which in previous years had imperilled the old order. There was no "arid legalism"<sup>102</sup> about the Royal Court's attitude to resurgent Catholicism. The faith of the majority (at least) of its members, insulted and hidden away in the reign of Edward, was expressed vigorously and violently under Mary.

### Responses in the community

#### (i) Protestants

The Cauches affair demonstrates that Protestant sentiments



survived in Guernsey in the reign of Mary, but that those who held them were in increasing danger. Catholicism was assertive enough to motivate the Royal Court to send Protestants to the Dean's Court and to promote neighbours to give evidence against them. There is no indication that Protestant services continued in secret, or that an underground congregation existed.

In these circumstances, some Protestants chose exile. The Guernsey merchant Guillaume de Beauvoir fled to Geneva before October 1555 and was received as an habitant there on 27 July the following year.<sup>103</sup> The Jersey minister Thomas Bertran was similarly recognised on 10 August 1556,<sup>104</sup> and he and de Beauvoir (and the latter's wife)<sup>105</sup> may have fled to Geneva in the knowledge that the minister Regnet was resident in the town. De Beauvoir was elected a deacon of the English Church in Geneva on 16 December 1556 and re-elected on the two subsequent anniversaries of that date. John Knox and Christopher Goodman were the ministers at the Church in this period.<sup>106</sup>

Of course de Beauvoir and his wife were exceptional amongst Guernsey Protestants in having the will and the means to go into exile, although others (like Jores and le Vair) may have fled to Normandy on Mary's accession. As for those remaining in the

island, we must assume, with very few exceptions, they did little to draw attention to themselves.

(ii) Catholics

Under Mary the Royal Court returned to its old allegiances, and there is every indication that most of the commonalty did likewise. By its nature this shift back to the status quo left few records, but there is no reason to doubt that the religious institutions and rituals which had survived covertly or had been suppressed under Edward quickly revived. This occurred at both "official" and popular levels. With regard to the former, for example, priests once more were collated to island livings by Coutances. Pierre Charles was appointed to S. Pierre Port on 14 November 1553 on the death of Charles Mabson. Phillipe Cairee (Careye) was collated to S. André on the seventeenth of the same month after the death of the previous incumbent, and Edmond de la Rocque was in turn appointed to the same church on 14 February 1556 after Careye's death. Pierre Charles must have held the living of S. Pierre Port in plurality, for on his death we find Thomas de Beaugy appointed to that church – on 22 June 1556 – and Thomas Olivier replacing Charles at S. Samson on 30 September following.<sup>107</sup>

At a popular level, again the Court records offer evidence of the continuation of fraternity activities. The collecteurs of Notre Dame at S. Pierre du Bois were in Court in February 1555.<sup>108</sup> The representative of the Jesus fraternity at S. André was involved in a saisie case in February 1556.<sup>109</sup> Lights still were lit and funded as well. The case involving the collecteur of the light of S. Nicolas at S. Pierre du Bois, begun in Edward's reign, continued, and was still current in June 1554.<sup>110</sup> Other Catholic institutions reappeared. One "Pierres Alles ... attorney of the poor and of the clerks of la Trinité [de la Fôret]" (procureur des poupyres et des clers de la trinite)<sup>111</sup> was active in 1555, as was the representative of the poor of S. Julien the following year.<sup>112</sup> Obit celebrations also continued. Collas Guillebert appeared before the Court as the collecteur dez obytz de Saynt pierre du boes in October 1555 and on 4 January 1556 one Collas Philipotte paid up the arrears he owed on the obit of Pierres Cousin at S. Michel du Valle.<sup>113</sup> Finally, the findings of the enquiry of 1581 already referred to confirm the continuance of obit doles and fraternal charity generally throughout Mary's reign.<sup>114</sup>

Hence it appears that under Mary, religious life in Guernsey regained its traditional place in community relations and sentiments. This was the case despite the events of Edward's

reign and notwithstanding a Protestant presence in the island. The Court encouraged Catholicism, the social role of the Church was restored and magnified, and people at the time, not blessed (or burdened) with the hindsight of the historian, must have thought that religion and the traditional way of life, with all its religious elements and associations, had returned to normality after the heretical innovations of Edward's reign.



## Chapter Four

### REFORMATION: ELIZABETH

The death of Mary was to prove a fatal blow to Catholicism in Guernsey. The future shape of the island's religious organisation was relatively slow to emerge. There seems to have been some attempt to impose the 1559 settlement, as we shall see, but little evidence survives and the attempt clearly failed. The machinery for enforcement was lacking, as Guernsey was under the authority of the Bishop of Coutances, not of an English diocese. And what Protestant influences did reach the island came from French Calvinists, not English reformers. By the time the English government turned its attention to Guernsey's religious affairs, Calvinism had established itself as the only viable form of Protestantism.

Mary's death on 17 November 1558 proved a far more immediate catastrophe for the Catholic members of Guernsey's Royal Court. They also found themselves in some personal danger, arising from the Cauches affair, the concealment of Catholic revenues and the favour which they had shown the traditional religion generally.

Very early in Elizabeth's reign (probably December 1558)

Catherine Cauches' brother Matthieu petitioned the Privy Council, protesting at the Court's dealings with the women.<sup>1</sup> According to Foxe, Matthieu Cauches repeated this complaint to "the Queen's Highness's most gracious Commissioners, for the hearing and determining of Matters of Religion and Causes Ecclesiastical" who were in Guernsey in 1562.<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of this in particular, and for his "other mooste crafty dealings and disseytes" generally, in the same year Helier Gosselin was dismissed from office by the Captain, with the Commissioners' approval.<sup>3</sup>

The sacking of the Bailiff was not the end of the matter, however. The investigation of the errors of the Marian Royal Court continued for many years. The story of these investigations and local reactions to them is the story of the end of Guernsey's Catholic polity and its replacement by a new Protestant regime.

### Concealments

As events unfolded it became increasingly clear to the English authorities that the Royal Court not only behaved with excessive zeal in burning three women and a baby, but also that under Edward they had been duped in the matter of the Catholic revenues.

Besides this, the Court had continued in its devious ways after Mary's death, as indicated in a Privy Council memorandum of c. 1559.<sup>4</sup> This refers to a surprising request of the Royal Court and inhabitants of Guernsey that "a perfyte suruey be made through the Isle aswell of ... [church] goodes plate money and Jewells as also of rentes of landes, rentes of wheate, fraries, free Chapells, obittes, lampes, lightes and such lyke" for use "for reparacon of the Churches, and ... other uses".

In response, the Council noticed that the Guernsey authorities had already claimed to have sold such things "wherwith they bought certein peces of ordynnance and other munitions". It also went on to query how the amount so expended seemed not to match the amount the sales should have realised. It did not even attempt to understand how what had supposedly already been sold might be sold again.

This renewed effort to conceal the extent of surviving Catholic revenues, and the Court's earlier dealings concerning them, failed. The web of dissimulation had become so tangled as to attract the Council's attention. The request to make a survey and apply funds to church repairs merely alerted it to the illegal survival of traditional institutions. It peremptorily ordered the Court to survey the "Landes rentes goodes and cattells"<sup>5</sup> and

await the Crown's further pleasure. As Professor le Patourel remarked though, "there is no evidence that anything was done to carry out this order. Since the jurors were mostly loyal Catholics at the time, this is perhaps not surprising".<sup>6</sup>

### The Royal Commissions

The Court's deviousness under Edward, its errors under Mary, and its continuing unreliability under Elizabeth, thus became increasingly apparent. The English authorities set up a succession of commissions to investigate affairs.

The first of these was appointed by the Crown on 2 January 1561, with a remit to search in Guernsey for the concealed property of chantries and religious houses.<sup>7</sup> Another, which had its work set out at length, was established on 12 July of the same year.<sup>8</sup> On 4 July 1562 a further commission was constituted,<sup>9</sup> as was yet another on 22 December 1562.<sup>10</sup>

#### (i) the Commission of July 1562

Of these four commissions, there is only evidence that the one of July 1562 ever arrived in the island.<sup>11</sup> The Commissioners were charged with attaching the revenues which should have gone to



the Crown under Edwardian legislation. They were further required to investigate the island's defences and the extent of under-exploited Crown lands. According to Foxe, they also received the petition of Matthieu Cauches, which led to Gosselin's dismissal.<sup>12</sup>

The 1581 enquiry into alms-giving repeatedly heard that doles had been made and fraternities had functioned "until the visit of the commissioners". However, it cannot have been these commissioners to whom the witnesses referred, since they did not achieve much success in the seizure of Catholic dues. On 12 December 1561 the Captain, Francis Chamberlain, had written to Sir William Cecil referring to reports of "disordres emong sundry the Quenes majesties tenants for none payment of their rentes" due to a lack of authority in the island, "through the doubtfull reporte who should be officer there".<sup>13</sup> The commissioners similarly noted the "slackenesse and disorder" of the islanders.<sup>14</sup> Clearly the Catholic Royal Court continued to be somewhat contrary.

The 1562 Commission must also have experienced the technical problems encountered by a later commission,<sup>15</sup> concerning the system of transferring rents, involving tangles of renonciations and assignments, often over several generations. This made the

identification of rents owed for specifically Catholic purposes difficult with local collaboration, and virtually impossible without it.

For these reasons the overall success of the commission appointed in July 1562 was small. It apparently failed to submit any accounts to the Privy Council, these instead being included in an abstract submitted in 1566, where they are tabulated with the revenues seized by a commission appointed 25 May 1563.<sup>16</sup>

#### (ii) The Commission of May 1563

This latter Commission achieved considerably more success. The Commissioners were Francis Chamberlain, Thomas Carewe, Dr George Ackworthe (the Bishop of Winchester's chancellor), Amias Paulet, who was the lieutenant Captain of Jersey, Peter Smyth, Guernsey's Bailiff Thomas Compton, John After (who had recently been appointed Dean of the island, presumably by the Privy Council),<sup>17</sup> and Nicolas Careye junior, the Crown's Receiver in the island. Any three of these, provided one was either Carewe or Ackworthe, had power to act for the Commission.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the duty to search out concealed revenues the Commissioners again had powers to grant and convey lands and

rents which were in the Queen's hand. Their appointment also requested them to make a grant to the Royal Court, allowing it to tax imports. The Commissioners were further required to establish a grammar school in the island.

This Commission set to work with a will. The terms of its appointment clearly enabled it to get more local collaboration than its predecessor. Its grant to the Royal Court on 20 August 1563 of the right to receive the Crown's not inconsiderable maritime dues known as the Petit Coutume must have won it some favour.<sup>19</sup> Compton's appointment in 1563 to succeed Gosselin as Bailiff<sup>20</sup> must also have eased problems.

The Commission was also assured of the collaboration of the Queen's Receiver in the island, Nicolas Careye junior, who was himself appointed a Commissioner, as he had been in 1561.<sup>21</sup> His office required some knowledge of the peculiar local system of transferring (and concealing) rents, and on this occasion it must have been placed at the Commission's disposal. His good relations with his fellow Commissioners are indicated by his purchase of the Crown manor of Blanchelande from them on 30 September 1563.<sup>22</sup> On 20 October Careye went on to buy the site of a water mill at les Nyos (les Niaux, in the parishes of S. André and Castel) from the Commission.<sup>23</sup>

(iii) dividing the spoils

This sale (if we allow that the Commissioners mistook the parochial location of the mill site) is shown in Appendix Two, which tabulates what the Commissioners' report refers to as "souche parcelles of the Quenes majesties Landes in Garnsey as are letten there in fee ferme".<sup>24</sup> The Appendix is a starting point in showing that as a result of the Commissioners' activities, a local Protestant party benefited materially, politically, and in religious affairs.

In their report, the Commissioners set down twenty-seven transactions whereby they transferred Crown property – often substantial – to various individuals.<sup>25</sup> Of these transfers, twelve were made to men who were members of the Calvinist consistory established before the visit of the Commission and described below. A further grant was made to a man who was a consistory member by 1564. Other sales on the list were made to other Protestants such as Giret Ogier and Helier de Carteret.<sup>26</sup> There were seventeen such purchases by ten known Protestants in all, some buying more than one parcel.<sup>27</sup>

Besides the property listed in Appendix Two, some "corne and rentes dewe for masses and obittes"<sup>28</sup> were also sold by the



Commissioners. For example, on 12 September 1563 Guillaume de Beauvoir (the Marian exile) purchased a rent of one écu.<sup>29</sup> On 1 October, Thomas Fouaschin bought a bushel of wheat rent which had been owed to the fraternity of Notre Dame at S. Pierre Port,<sup>30</sup> adding to his purchase made on 1 September 1563 of a more substantial rent of twenty bushels of wheat.<sup>31</sup> This had been part of a parcel of seven and a half quarters which had devolved to the Crown "by virtue of the foundation of the Messe de Jhesus heretofore celebrated in the parish and church of Saint Pierre Port, and founded by Nicollas Fouaschin son of Thomas, grandfather of the said Thomas Fouaschin", the purchaser.

Thomas le Marchant acquired the chapel of S. Blaise in the parish of S. Peter Port from the Commission, and Thomas Effart (Foxe's correspondent) bought that of Ste Appoline in S. Sauveur. Some fraternity rents were also sold, and others were listed by the Commissioners as being henceforth due to the Crown. Church plate and "copes and vestementes" similarly were seized, valued and added to the Commissioners' detailed accounts.

In redistributing the spoils of the Catholic Church in these ways, then, the Commission disabled the traditional faith and at the same time strongly favoured supporters of the Reformation.

(iv) institutional redistributions

A similar policy underlay distributions to reformed institutions.

As their commission required, the Commissioners established a grammar school, by charter of 27 September 1563.<sup>32</sup> On the next day they endowed the school with numerous rents which had been due to the fraternities of Jesus at S. André; Jesus at S. Martin; Notre Dame de Pity, Notre Dame, and Ste Catherine, all at Ste Marie du Castel, together with the revenues of masses at S. Pierre Port.<sup>33</sup>

Those parts of the revenues of the parish churches which escaped seizure were themselves put on a firmly Protestant basis. The obit funds of the church of S. Michel du Valle were sold by the Commission to Giret Ogier on 10 October 1566, in his capacity as collecteur of that church.<sup>34</sup> The contract stated that the funds were to be for the sole use of the church, which was to say not for "superstition".

This is the latest surviving act of the Commission established in May 1563. Its return,<sup>35</sup> now at Hatfield House, and the summary of its work submitted by John After to the Privy Council in 1566, show that it achieved considerably more success than

earlier commissions.<sup>36</sup> It founded a grammar school, it seized large amounts of Catholic property and redistributed some of it to sympathetic individuals, and its members had – as we must now go on to describe – played important roles in the removal of the Catholic Court and the advancement of a Protestant party.

### The reforming party

The coalescence of a reforming party within the elite was a highly significant factor leading to the final adoption of the Reformation in Guernsey.

Of this group, Guillaume de Beauvoir had the best Protestant credentials. Like most of his fellow exiles in the English Church at Geneva, de Beauvoir returned home on Elizabeth's accession. Like them, he was eager for the reform of his native Church. Although admittedly Guernsey was much smaller than England, he and the local Protestant party achieved rather more success.

De Beauvoir applied to Calvin himself for assistance in establishing an église dressée in Guernsey. Calvin's reply was dated 26 December 1559 and signed on behalf of the Venerable Company of Pastors with his usual pseudonym "Charles Despeville". With this, de Beauvoir also received an affectionate



letter from Remond Chauvet, the minister of S. Gervais in Geneva.<sup>37</sup>

The letters were delivered to de Beauvoir by the Company's nominee for the Guernsey Church, Nicolas Baudouin (c. 1526–1613).<sup>38</sup> Baudouin had been received as an habitant of Geneva the previous April.<sup>39</sup> He came on the recommendation and with the optimistic expectations of the Company. The Commissioners' report states that at first Baudouin was dependent on the support of a small local party, noting that over some four years he had "rison bie the devotion of a few well disposed people", being engaged in "so godlie and zealous a travail" as bringing the Reformed word to a generally hostile community. He was reported to be "a godlie preacher who hathe taken continuall paines" in the matter.<sup>40</sup>

Soon the appointment of the fort docte et savant Baudouin to the living of S. Pierre Port was secured by the reformers.<sup>41</sup> Supported by the presence of the Commissioners, he and the local Protestants established a regime at S. Pierre Port arranged according to Calvin's ideals. The Calvinist consistory there first met on 17 May 1563.<sup>42</sup>

In spite of the influence which the Catholic majority in the Royal



Court still had at this time, the minute of the meeting shows that several members of the old elite embraced the new faith. The consistory's first session was attended by Baudouin, Thomas Compton the Bailiff and the jurats Nicolas de la Court and Thomas Effart. Effart and Nicolas Pageot were the first deacons. Other officials, including the Receiver Nicolas Careye junior (himself, like Compton, appointed a Commissioner a few days later) were also there. Gaspard Ollyvier, the greffier of the Royal Court, was the scribe.<sup>43</sup> Baudouin, de Beauvoir, Thomas le Marchant and Nicollas Martin presented an accord made with the newly established Calvinist Church in Jersey to the meeting.

The Commissioners, who were appointed a few days after this, soon showed their support for the new organisation. Compton and Careye were members of the consistory from its foundation, and on 27 May 1563 their fellow Commissioner, the Captain Francis Chamberlain was admitted to membership. Chamberlain attended the first Channel Island synod of 28 June 1564. This was also attended by another Commissioner, John After, who had replaced Amy as Dean by May 1563.<sup>44</sup>

Pressures arising from religious alterations in England were felt ever more strongly in Guernsey in this era. A radical alternative, in terms of both personnel and mentalities, to Guernsey's

increasingly unstable and reactionary ancien régime was called for. The establishment of a system arranged on Calvinist principles, which ideally required the symbiotic organisation of church and state, with an ecclesiastical discipline working in harmony with the activities of the "Godly Magistrate", offered such an alternative to an element in the elite.

### The end of the Catholic Court

Although some of the Royal Court's duties may have been assumed by the Commissioners at this period, surprisingly the Catholic jurats stayed in office throughout most of the time the Commissioners were in the island.

In a move which makes the Guernsey electors appear rather Machiavellian, the Protestant Thomas Effart (Foxe's informant) was appointed a jurat on the first vacancy occurring after Mary's death, being sworn in on 28 January 1559.<sup>45</sup> Effart soon found himself "procureur lawfully constituted by the chapter, bailiff and jurats" begging for the Queen's pardon on behalf of Gosselin, the jurats Nicolas Careye senior, Jean le Marchant, Pierre Bonamy, Nicolas Martin, Jean Blondel and Richard Devyck, together with the Dean Jacques Amy.<sup>46</sup> Although Amy had been pardoned (with Sir Leonard Chamberlain) in 1559 he had not been absolved

of his part in the Cauches burning.<sup>47</sup> He too had been removed from office by 1563.

After enquiry, on 11 October 1563 the Commission severely censured Helier Gosselin and the Marian jurats for condemning Catherine Cauches and her daughters. The Catholic Court however continued in office, save for Gosselin who was dismissed from the bench.<sup>48</sup> The islanders thereupon had the temerity to elect him a jurat, in February 1565.<sup>49</sup> In that latter year however, the Catholic jurats – including Gosselin – were formally accused by the Privy Council of using "tharrerages dew to the Quene's Majestye by reason of obytes, lamps, lightes &c and [having] consumed the same in contentious sutes against all the capptaynes of their tymes".<sup>50</sup>

Evidence of "sutes against all the capptaynes" is absent, but the general charge had to be admitted. The accused men pleaded that the Catholic revenues had been "distributed againe to the poore, and for munitions".<sup>51</sup> This was of course true, up to a point. The previous chapter showed how small amounts of fraternity revenues had indeed been applied to munitions. The mention of distributions to the poor is perhaps a devious reference to the charity of the fraternities and other doles which the Court had allowed to continue.



The Commissioners were, however, by now able to recognise the Court's dissimulation. After's certificate of 1566 reported to the Privy Council that the Catholic revenues had been "payde by the commune people to the supersticious vsages ... and to soche other vses as by the laet Jurates hathe ben thoughte requisyte as they saye for poulder shot and munytion".<sup>52</sup>

By this time the Council itself was well aware of the situation. In August 1565 it ordered the former Dean Amy, and the jurats Nicolas Careye senior, Jean Blondel, Jean le Marchant, Nicolas Martin and Gosselin to London to answer its charges.<sup>53</sup> There they must have joined their colleagues Pierres Bonamy and Richard Devyck who had already been sent as representatives of the Royal Court and islanders.<sup>54</sup> The seven jurats were all dismissed. Although deprived of office, they and Amy were fortunate enough to be pardoned on 18 February 1566.<sup>55</sup> Eagleston has described the Privy Council's enquiry and the fate of the accused in some detail.<sup>56</sup>

### The new Royal Court

Under the order which summoned the Catholic jurats to London, new appointments were made in Guernsey. In the Commissioners' presence on 15 October 1565 Guillaume de



Beauvoir, Nicolas de Sausmarez, Nicolas Martin, and Thomas le Marchant were appointed jurats. The Court register says that they were elected by la plus saine part des estatx de ladyte isle.<sup>57</sup> This phrase suggests that the jurats may not have had majority support in the elective body, which had indeed elected the disgraced Gosselin a few months earlier.

The presence of the Commissioners at the meeting, and the ferocity of la gracieuse lettre de la maieste de la roigne, as the Court cringingly referred to the order, meant however that the appointments had to be made, whatever the popular will in the matter. The three other new vacancies on the bench were filled by Nicolas Gosselin, Nicolas le Mesurier and Nicolas Pageot on 16 October, 29 October, and 13 November 1565 respectively.<sup>58</sup>

The English clearly thought themselves well rid of the old régime, with obvious reason. In 1566 John After grudgingly conceded of the new jurats that "thise that nowe be placed Justiciers ... have som better regarde to the truste committed vnto them", although generally "ther ys no man thoughte sufficient texecute the romthe [room] of a Jurat in this said Isle, other than soche as can mooste craftelye cover and contynu vices and therwith skorne the favorers of honnestye and vertu".<sup>59</sup>

This opinion of the generality is supported by the fact that one Leonard le Mesurier had been elected a jurat only to be rejected by the Court (again in the presence of the Commissioners) on 15 October 1565. He was regarded as too "young and not yet adequate and fit properly to exercise the said office [jeune et non encoure suffisant et ydoine pour bien exercer l'adyte office]". This suggests that candidates acceptable to the Commissioners were in short supply.<sup>60</sup>

Eagleston quite rightly called the change in administration "practically ... a revolution".<sup>61</sup> This is shown in Appendix Three: of the new Court's thirteen members, no fewer than nine had previously expressed their Protestantism through membership of the S. Pierre Port consistory. Of the seven new jurats, four also had acquired property from the Commissioners before 1565, as had three – perhaps four – of the jurats who were not sacked. Two of these three already serving jurats (Thomas Effart and Nicolas de la Court) were avowed Protestants from 1563 at the latest, as was the Bailiff Compton.

Thus an influential element in the elite embraced the Reformed faith in the months before being elevated to the secular administration. The Royal Court's complexion changed from reactionary Catholic to radical Protestantism. At a stroke known

Calvinists replaced known Catholics.

### The dismantling of Catholic institutions

The estatz met on 31 December 1565 and at last recognised the inevitable. At that meeting the representative cures vicares et conestables, assembling before the Royal Court and the Commissioners, humbly requested the Captain to petition the Queen to excuse the islanders' liability for the arrears of messes freries obytz lumynaires et aultres choses semblables due to her. The Captain agreed, and Thomas Effart was sent to England in his now habitual role as an apologist for the wrongdoings of the Catholic establishment.<sup>62</sup>

By this time much of the structure of the traditional faith was being dismantled. Catholic revenues had been seized, property sold, and an administration hostile to the old beliefs placed in power.

Still though, in the estatz some misgivings remained. On 4 January 1566 the constables of all the parishes except S. Pierre Port declared they would not have Effart as their representative. They demanded instead that the petition to the Queen should be entrusted to their attornies (procureurs) already in England, the

former jurors Pierres Bonamy and Richard Devyck.<sup>63</sup> Not surprisingly, this provoked the wrath of the Captain and the new Royal Court. On 10 April 1566 the latter remanded Jacques Alles and Noell Lyhou in prison for not endorsing Effart's selection despite their signatures to the contrary. They were released on 2 May, having acknowledged their error and given pledges for their future good conduct.<sup>64</sup>

Effart meanwhile was making his supplication. This met response in a document issued on 1 March 1566 which excused the islanders the arrears which had mounted up since Elizabeth's accession.<sup>65</sup> It is clear from the terms of this document that Effart (very likely supported by After's letter to the Privy Council) had claimed that some of the funds had been spent on defending the island: the pardon refers to "tharrerages of rentes growen unto us in that isle of certayn chaunteries fraternities obits etc. by reason the same hath been diversely expended in time of ware by our subjects there (and ar not withoute greate difficulte to be recovered)".

The Guernsey community was now charged to search for still-concealed rents and add them to "thordinary receptes of that our said isle", whence they were to be employed for such "necessary fortification there as shall appertayne". The defence of the island



was a preoccupation of the English authorities at this time, and Castle Cornet was being reinforced.<sup>66</sup> This accounts both for the plausibility of Effart's pleadings, and the rule laid down for the future use of concealed revenues. Funds which ever since the reign of Edward had been nominally assigned to defence expenses seemed likely at last to be used according to the Crown's intentions.

After the successes of the 1563 Commission, the change in the Court, and the capitulation of the estatz, the Captain Francis Chamberlain was more optimistic of the attachment of Catholic funds. He even hoped for a novel obedience to English commands. He reported this to Cecil on 31 August 1566:

their ys nowe moche better hope to be conceaved of the  
Jurates laste placed [the new Court] which hath not failed  
vpon sight of the Quenes majesties Lettres Laite adressed  
vnto them to travaile aboute the reducinge of the  
accrewed Rentes in such estate as they maye be  
certeynlie Leaved [levied] where the said Rentes be  
iustelie due and aunswerable which before by the mallice  
of some that ruelid, were so tangled that nothings without  
infynite processe, could be obtained in that parte <sup>67</sup>

The management of such funds which had escaped the Commissioners' scrutiny devolved for the time being on the Crown's law officers in Guernsey. Thus we find them taking an action on 10 June 1566 for the arrears of a rent due a cause de la confrerie de notre dame chandelleur de la ... paroisse de Saynt Martin. On behalf of the Crown the officers similarly represented la confrerie et messes du nom de Jhesus de Saynt pierre du boes in an action of 1 August 1566.<sup>68</sup>

On 26 April 1566 the Royal Court petitioned the Captain on behalf of the parish constables and inhabitants, recognising their previous (but unspecified) errors and pledging future loyalty.<sup>69</sup> On 8 May <sup>70</sup> in the Captain's presence the Court agreed that a tax should be levied to gather the sixty pounds sterling which the recent petitions, the Royal charter confirming the island's traditional privileges (granted as long before as 1560)<sup>71</sup> and the grant of legal concessions from England <sup>72</sup> had cost. The old establishment, bloodied by nearly twenty years of investigations, concealments, internal strife and external interference at last bowed to the inevitable.

### The Commission of 1567

Although the work of a commission established on 11 March 1564

is unrecorded, another appointed on 12 June 1567 took up the still unfinished labour of putting Crown and Church revenues in better order.<sup>73</sup> This time the Commissioners had the collaboration of the Royal Court. The Commissioners appointed again included Nicolas Careye junior, together with the leading Protestant jurats Guillaume de Beauvoir and Thomas Effart.

Once more the sympathies of the Commissioners for Calvinist organisation are apparent. In October 1567 they granted just over fifty-five quarters of annual wheat rent to endow a salary for Nicolas Baudouin.<sup>74</sup> Other rents were sold off piecemeal. In October 1567 Jean le Paige bought a rent of one gros three deniers which had been due to the fraternity of Jesus at Ste Marie du Castel.<sup>75</sup> In January 1568 Philipyn le Goubey purchased three denerels of wheat rent which had been owed to the lights at S. Samson's Church.<sup>76</sup>

On 22 April 1568 the Queen's Receiver Pierre Careye privately acquired from his fellow Commissioners for himself and his heirs a great number of rents which had been due to the freries of Notre Dame at S. Pierre Port, Notre Dame at S. Martin, Jesus at the same church, the Chapel of S. Jacques, the lights at S. Samson and the once-proud Cherite du Bellefroy.<sup>77</sup>

Rather more honourably, on the same date de Beauvoir and Effart, as trustees of S. Pierre Port Church, were conveyed some rents of the Cherite fraternity and of a mass endowment there, to add to the church's revenues.<sup>78</sup> New rentals were prepared at this church and at S. Sauveur, and possibly others.<sup>79</sup> The names of de Beauvoir and Effart again occur on the former document, as collecteurs of S. Pierre Port.

Also on the 22 April 1568 the Commissioners sold two bushels of wheat rent which had belonged to the fraternity of Notre Dame at S. Pierre du Bois to the jurat Nicollas de Sausmarez, and nine rents which had been due to la lampe [sic] de Saynt Sanson to the greffier Gaspard Ollyvier.<sup>80</sup>

A few rents still were concealed though, for whatever reason. The Privy Council continued to appoint commissions whose duties included the investigation of church and once-Catholic dues, for example in 1579 and 1597.<sup>81</sup> Their main business however increasingly concerned other matters such as the establishment of the new school and, especially, the application of Crown revenues (arising both locally and in England) to the rebuilding of Castle Cornet.<sup>82</sup>

### Reform and the community



The hostility towards the dismantling of Catholic institutions shown by the estatz, and their eventual sullen acceptance of affairs, was mirrored in wider reaction.

This cannot however be narrated as fully as the foregoing. The Royal Court's registers are the main sources for this chapter, but there is little information in them concerning the community's reactions to religious change. The reason for this must be that before 1565 expressions of discontent, though sometimes demonstrated by illegal acts, took place with the passive approval of the Court's members. On occasion, protests even took place at the initiative of jurats. Protesters were not punished, so their acts are not referred to in the Court's records. Nor did the Court make legislation to cope with reaction. There is also a lacuna in the Court's jugement records between August 1566 and June 1569, with the exception of a six-month period in 1567.<sup>83</sup> This very likely had some connection with the religious and social upheaval in the island at this time.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, other records do strongly indicate that the community did not want religious change and reacted against it. The new Calvinist consistory, for all its support from the English presence in Guernsey and from part of the local elite, was founded in opposition to traditional, and embattled,

sentiments.

(i) the inadequate clergy

It appears that there was some attempt to enforce the English Act of Uniformity of 1559 in the parish churches. Significantly though, this is known only through reports of the unpopularity of the services which the Act sought to introduce, and allegations about the inadequacy of the clergy in advancing the Reformation.

Adrian Saravia, one of the Calvinist party in the island (who paradoxically was to become well known in England as an anti-presbyterian),<sup>84</sup> recalled many years after these troubled times that:

In the beginning there was no other Reformation in the Islands then that common throughout the whole Kingdome of England. The priests which a little time before had sung mass, became suddenly Protestants; but yet not one of them was appointed to preach the word of God. They were but ignorant blockheads, continuing still in heart and affection Papists, and enemies to the Gospel.<sup>85</sup>

Saravia's purpose in writing this was polemical and his memory

selective. All the same, the general charge that some priests conformed, whilst retaining Catholic sentiments, appears justified.

As late as 1572 several former priests still served their old benefices or other parishes in the island.<sup>86</sup> In that year Edmond de la Rocque, who had been collated in 1555,<sup>87</sup> was curé at S. André. Thomas de Beaugy, who was made rector of S. Pierre Port in 1556<sup>88</sup> was inducted rector of S. Samson by the Bishop of Winchester in 1569.<sup>89</sup> In 1572 he is referred to as curé at S. Michel du Valle.<sup>90</sup>

Even Jacques Amy, the former Dean and persecutor of the Cauches, still held the position of curé of S. Sauveur in 1572, to which parish he had been appointed rector as long before as 1547.<sup>91</sup> The Court was still calling him clerc in 1576.<sup>92</sup>

In 1572 Guillaume Pacquet was curé at Ste Marie du Castel. He certainly favoured at least some Catholic conventions as late as 1569. This is shown by the will of Guillome Girard made in May of that year, which is in Catholic form. Girard bequeathed his soul a dieu le Createur Jhesus et a la glorieuse sacree Marie et a tous les Sayntz et Sayntez de paraditz. He also left five gros to Ste Marie du Castel Church. The will was witnessed by Syre

guillome pacquet curey.<sup>93</sup> Neither the testator nor his witness appear to have anticipated that the document might be invalid when the time came for the granting of probate.

Saravia's recollections suggest that these and other former priests served the Church because no better (Protestant) men were available. The Calvinist Dean, John After, left the island in 1569 or 1570; and Adrian Saravia, who had been Baudouin's assistant and master of the grammar school, left about the same time.<sup>94</sup> None of the former priests are recorded as signing the Calvinist Discipline of 1576, although some or all may have been dead by this date. No ex-Catholic clergy – blockheads or otherwise – are recorded as practising after the influx of Huguenot ministers in 1585, immediately before which, the Colloquy minutes state, the island had been destituées de Ministres.<sup>95</sup>

## (ii) Church papists and hedge priests

If these conforming priests were lax or ignorant in their observance of Protestant mores, then Catholic priests, who like English "hedge priests" covertly continued in their vocation were a greater irritant to the reforming party.

In January 1560 Paulet the Captain of Jersey sent Newes from



Garnesaye to Cecil. He complained that although both natives and strangers "for couteenance sake vsed agayne the sacramentes marryages and churchinges according to the commune ordre of this realme", there had been apprehended "One paquet a preeste", who had provided the sacraments, married people, and churched women, according to the old rites. Paulet went on to state that one

moreyne a preeste born in garnesey ys fled thisle for the lyke matter And all the reste of the preestes there be suspected persons in that part as sworne subjectes to the bisshop of coustances by whose mutuell practises the commune people of the said Isle be kepte in errour and which mutining mormurations seke to tye themselves to foreyne obeissance <sup>96</sup>

Paulet may have been over-wary of the islanders defecting to the French, but clearly he did not mistake the continuation of Catholic rites and popular allegiance to the traditional faith. According to the witnesses of 1581, mass was said up until the time of the visit of the Commissioners of 1563: they stated that traditional charity lasted tandy qu'on disoit messe.<sup>97</sup>

It was not until 19 and 26 June 1567 that Jean Moreyne (or

Mourain) and Nicolas Pacquet respectively had to answer to Guernsey's Royal Court for their activities.<sup>98</sup> Pacquet confessed to "his offence and fault in having said the mass in several places in this said isle". Moreyne likewise admitted having celebrated mass in the church of Ste Marie du Castel and elsewhere. Both were excused by the Court under Elizabeth's general pardon of 1566 (8 Eliz. c. 19).

That people chose to resort to Catholic priests like this after attending new-style services "for countenance sake" shows them at most to have been what in England were called "church papists" – those who "believed that they could attend parish church with a good conscience, provided they did not give internal consent".<sup>99</sup>

The mass tenaciously survived, even in the church of the island's largest parish, where the fraternity chapel of nostre demme de pyty also still remained in December 1569.<sup>100</sup> Intercessory institutions likewise continued until the fifteen-sixties. These facts strongly suggest that in Elizabeth's early years the reforming party was unable to police the island adequately, and that the community was largely indifferent or hostile to change. Paulet's remarks were in fact optimistic.

(iii) popular reaction

Such a supposition is confirmed by other evidence which touches on the beliefs and reactions of both elite and menu peuple. Even those who had shown an early commitment to Protestantism were not immune from the appeal of tradition. Chauvet's letter of December 1559 to Guillaume de Beauvoir shows that the latter's wife had apostatized from the Reformed faith after returning from exile in Geneva, that "mirror and model of true piety".<sup>101</sup> Chauvet told de Beauvoir that he was praying that his wife would examine her faith and consider the account she would have to give to God of all she had seen and heard.<sup>102</sup> Whatever her experiences in Geneva, it appears that things de Beauvoir's wife had seen and heard on return to Guernsey had influenced her religious allegiance.

It is not clear whether Madame de Beauvoir's lapse was exposed publicly at the time, but other islanders certainly expressed dissent openly and made "mutining mormurations". Beyond sullen conformity and passive church papism there was active resistance to the new order.

This is evidenced by several documents. In 1562, for example, Francis Chamberlain reported to Sir William Cecil that there were

"verray feawe faythfull favorers of her highnes in the generaltye and lytle hope the temporall Justiciers will range theim selves taunswer the good trust commytted vnto them".<sup>103</sup> The 1563 Commissioners' report similarly called the people "licentious and given to ... vices".<sup>104</sup> Nor did things improve much for a while after the dismissal of the Catholic jurats. John After's opinion of Guernsey's administration in 1566 has been quoted, and in the same letter he still more fiercely condemned the habits and sympathies of the wider community. There were, After wrote,

to manye straungers, and yet of all sortes not above viii C [800] hable men for anye purpose, be be [sic] as they have alwayes ben and rather moche the wors for merdrers, theves and hormongers, that daylye flee oute of normandye for these and soche lyke offences which by custume and cosynage be reces here, wherof growyth soche mixture of evill and loose lyfe as ys horrible to rehearce They all lyke well the previleges of Englonde But the Bulles from Rome, be in soche singuler recomendation, that no lawes, of the Realme, can yet pull backe the unbridled sorte from Rome nor the frenshe fauorers of the same<sup>105</sup>

After's other letter of 1566, also sent to Cecil, similarly refers to



the hostility with which the Commissioners were received. Writing in support of Effart's mission to obtain the Queen's pardon for the old order, he mentioned the "erronyous Judgmentes manslaughter felonye rebellyons ryotes conspiracies unlawefull assemblies sedytions and other innumerable offences" for which forgiveness was sought.<sup>106</sup>

By this date After had been made Dean of the island, to which office the Commissioners attached an endowment of sixty quarters of wheat rent. He had been granted the "Priorie callid Lehowe" (Lihou) and lands in S. Sauveur and S. Martin, and had been a member of the most successful Commission himself.<sup>107</sup> For all this, he still declared "I have spent now fower yeres [in Guernsey] and never withoute daunger and trouble to myne vtter ruyne". He wanted compensation and begged "lycence to depart from the sayde Isle".<sup>108</sup>

These observations of After's, though extreme, are to a great extent confirmed by other documents. Still another letter sent to Cecil in 1566 reflects the distaste of the conservative generality for the reformers.<sup>109</sup> This was written by the Protestant refugee Adrian Saravia, who had been appointed to the mastership of the new grammar school after examination "bie the right Reverend father Edmond [Grindal] Bushop of London, and bie som of the

said commissieners", in or before 1564.<sup>110</sup> Saravia was made a minister by the laying on of hands by the elders and Baudouin on 8 October 1565, and was appointed assistant to the latter at S. Pierre Port.<sup>111</sup>

This relative over-staffing of one parish itself suggests the unpopularity of the Calvinist group in the country parishes, a suggestion confirmed by the terms of Saravia's letter, which is wide-ranging and highly critical. Yet as Eagleston says and as already shown, Saravia's depiction of island society is confirmed by other sources.<sup>112</sup> Like After's letters it has some resemblance to the "pessimistic hyperbole of the Elizabethan complaint-literature [which] was intensified by the unrealistic expectations of the writers".<sup>113</sup> It nonetheless paints a striking and on the whole accurate picture – albeit from a Protestant viewpoint – of the confusion into which civil society in Guernsey had fallen, making explicit the connection between religious innovation and social discontent.

Saravia described the people of Guernsey with a Greek phrase which he and his fellow translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible were to render as "slow bellies".<sup>114</sup> Presumably referring to Reformed services which he and Baudouin conducted, he said that only three or four of the islanders attended church.

He went on to report that outside the town ministers were jeered at and sometimes had dirt thrown at them. There had been near-seditious disturbances and tumults (turbis et tumultu ut parum abfuerit a seditione). Saravia went on to allege that robbery and murder went unpunished, and that the island had no proper laws.<sup>115</sup> The people were cowardly and all problems were blamed on "those whom the ignorant call Huguenots" (quos ignominioso vocabulo hugnotes vocant).

Saravia referred to the Treaty of Troyes of 11 April 1564, reporting that when peace with France was declared, one of the jurats led an attack on the pious [Protestant] citizens. He rounded off this wide-ranging condemnation by informing Cecil that the grammar school was ill-managed, and that since the islanders despised learning, he had only ten local pupils, the rest being English.

The old elite and the wider population were united in a lack of sympathy for the innovations. Before 1565, a degree of leadership in reaction was provided by the Catholic Royal Court, through both stubborn example and active provocation.

The attack on the Huguenots after the Treaty of Troyes, mentioned by Saravia, is referred to in more detail in the "Articles

especially touching the Jurates of thisle of Garnesaye" of 1565, located by Eagleston.<sup>116</sup> This shows the old order and the new in sharp contrast, confirming how two

Jurates namely John Marchaunt and Richard Devyke being droncken as commonlye they fayle not to be [were] leading daunces in the street at St. Peters Porte [when] Nicholas Martyne jurat furnished as his fellowes Jurates foresaid came unto theim crying for ayde againste Huguenotes they forthwith leaving the daunce assembled companye joyning themselves in ayde with the said Martyne who with som blowes gyven drave one verraye honnest man into his howse and so passed raging and crying a longes the streates wheare be these Huguenotes we will have their hartes upon the pointes of our swordes the honnest sorte neverthelesse consydering their estate and the nighte at hande keping their howses avoyded the daring of their sedytious rage for that tyme <sup>117</sup>

This inventory of the misdemeanours of the Catholic regime also blames the disloyal jurats – who, according to Saravia, were able to treat the people like sheep – for being

distourbers of the commune quitenes in the said Isle



moving the people of the same to all insolent disorders  
and disobedyences against God the Quene's Majestye and  
good seurtye of the said Isle which people of themselves  
desyre love and quitenes were yt not for the wyked  
perswasyon of the said Jurates which move and styre  
them to the contrarye <sup>118</sup>

The conflict between religious–political tradition and innovation is exemplified in the attack on the Huguenots.<sup>119</sup> The representatives of the old order, still in secular office, were able to provoke popular protests at the same time as Baudouin and Saravia were practising as ministers in the town, and after the Commissioners, with local collusion, had dismantled much of the superstructure of the old Church.

Clearly there remained "verray feawe faythfull favorers of her highnes in the generaltye"<sup>120</sup> and the people were still given to "rebellyons ryotes conspiracies unlawefull assemblies sedytions"<sup>121</sup> after the coup of 1565. Professor Davis has explained how in the French Reformation "political officers were active members of the crowd, though not precisely in their official capacity".<sup>122</sup> The situation in Guernsey was similar. Popular reaction was legitimized by the consent and leadership of traditional authorities. However, the Catholic jurats did not simply

treat the people like sheep – there were real popular grievances, a fact indicated by the continuation of protests after their dismissal.

Hostility towards the Protestant party was perhaps intensified by other problems. Plague raged in the Channel Islands in 1563, the year of the most successful Commission's main work, as it did in England following the return of infected troops from Le Havre.<sup>123</sup> The persecution of witches in the island, which was to continue sporadically for several decades, also started in 1563, when three people were burned.<sup>124</sup> No doubt these prosecutions followed the revival of witchcraft legislation in England in this year, but if not a result of social unease, the phenomenon may well have been another cause of it.

There must have been ill feeling towards the Protestant party with regard to its material successes as well. The generous grants of undervalued property made to sympathetic individuals can have done little to endear them to the wider population. Indeed, their self-interest was bitterly remembered as late as 1650, when it was recalled with some exaggeration that "most of the commons were given or solde away from the people by the Commissioners in Queene Elizabeth her time, (and some of those Commissioners bought the most of them for themselves at a very

low rate,) ...".<sup>125</sup> This seems particularly to refer to Nicolas Careye junior and the common lands of S. Martin annexed to fief Blanchelande.

The Commissioners' visit, the sale of Church property to a Protestant group, the establishment of a Calvinist regime, and the elevation of its supporters to secular authority in 1565, all occurred in spite of the popular will and against the wishes of several of those occupying traditional positions of leadership.

To many people – not just the "unbridled sorte" – it must have appeared that a self-interested and even heretical faction had sacrificed all that the community held dear in the selfish pursuit of worldly power and material advantage. Thomas More's description of "a conspiracy of the rich [eager] to advance their own interests under the pretext of organising society" would have sounded familiar to many people in late sixteenth-century Guernsey.<sup>126</sup>

### The appeal of order

The Privy Council in contrast showed its approval of the Commissioners' actions by endorsing the Calvinist organisation at S. Pierre Port and S. Helier in Jersey by an order of 7 August

1565.<sup>127</sup>

This formal approval was probably made at the immediate suit of a party led to London by the Jerseyman Helier de Carteret, as stated in the Jersey Chroniques.<sup>128</sup> The minute book of the French Church at Threadneedle Street mentions a group of Jerseymen, including de Carteret, (and incorrectly calling them de garnisey) participating in the Lord's Supper there on 3 April 1561. In March 1565 the minutes record the presence of "a gentleman of Guernsey [sic] named de Carteret who presented himself on Sunday at the Lord's Supper with the Dean of the said place [John After] and several other brothers of the said place ...".<sup>129</sup> Thus it seems likely that the order of August 1565 was made at the request of this party, which sought the Privy Council's endorsement of the de facto situation established by themselves and the Commissioners.

The Council went on by a letter of 1568 and an order of the following year to correct the anomaly of the Channel Islands being in the Diocese of Coutances.<sup>130</sup> Robert Horne, the Bishop of Winchester, had been recognised by the consistory as its Bishop in September 1567,<sup>131</sup> and the Islands now were formally attached to his diocese. In this action the influence of the Commissioner George Ackworthe, Horne's Chancellor, might



be detected.<sup>132</sup>

That the English authorities, both in Guernsey and the Council, should have preferred Calvinist organisation to Catholic anarchy is hardly surprising, considering especially their defence interests in the island, which are reflected in After's correspondence and throughout the State Papers of the era generally.<sup>133</sup>

Such a concern with good social order was shared by the successful element in the local elite. The writings of Knox and Goodman, both of whom de Beauvoir must have known in Geneva, were particularly occupied with theories of order.<sup>134</sup> This indeed was a matter of interest to Calvinists generally, a fact not unrecognised in Guernsey. The consistory and other structures of discipline were designed to exercise what the near-contemporary Jersey Chronicler calls puissant fonctions.<sup>135</sup> These functions offered attractive cultural possibilities to Guernsey's Protestant party and their English benefactors and supporters.

In Guernsey in the 1560s the great fear common to governments throughout the Early Modern age, namely the collapse of social order, seemed to threaten. The new order which the Protestant faction promised, through its Church discipline and its use of

recently-acquired secular authority, offered to the Privy Council, the Commissioners, and local sympathizers alike, the best hope of recovering reverence for government and the effective exercise of civil authority.

### Elite interests

The jurats appointed in this situation differed from the old in religious outlook. However, the Court's new members were of the same social background, and indeed families, as their discredited Catholic predecessors. Nicolas Gosselin was the son of the former Bailiff Helier.<sup>136</sup> Nicolas Careye junior, the Commissioner, elected a jurat in 1569, was the son of Helier's lieutenant, Nicolas senior.<sup>137</sup> Of those jurats who quit office in 1565 it is likely that Nicolas Martin  fils  Jean and Jean le Marchant were related to the incomers Nicolas Martin  fils  Pierre and Thomas le Marchant. The latter was in turn married to Helier Gosselin's daughter Collette.<sup>138</sup> The son of the dismissed Nicolas Martin  fils  Jean was himself elected a jurat in 1593.<sup>139</sup>

Thus even though the Catholic jurats were removed from office, after 1565 the Calvinist Royal Court remained an expression of traditional elite interest. The alterations brought about by the Protestant party, the Commissioners, and the Privy Council were

not made with revolutionary intent. Rather they reflect a hope that good social and political order might be restored, even at the cost of the majority's religious sensibilities.<sup>140</sup>

That Protestantism would be enforced by the English powers became ever more clear over the few years following Mary's death. The part of the local elite which recognised this found in the Reformed religion a foundation upon which to construct alternatives to the "near sedition" which Catholicism increasingly came to represent. In these respects Protestantism was paradoxically both the cause of and solution to the awkward situation in which the island's government found itself in the fifteen-sixties.

Seen in this light, once the new regime was established, the Reformed faith cannot have been altogether unattractive to some of those who were concerned with the maintenance of authority and elite interests. This would account for the remarkable fact that on 11 April 1566 there

appeared before the consistory Helier Gosselin, desiring to be received into the company of the Church and into the communion of the sacraments, and being admonished he confessed his faults freely, with the promise henceforth to

live according to the reformation of the Gospel, and to submit himself to the discipline of the Church, for which cause he was received and accepted joyously with the assent of the company <sup>141</sup>

By this time the day of Catholicism as the official faith of Guernsey's elite had passed. The island had experienced a strong reaction to religious change, to an extent led and endorsed by the traditional authorities. However, without revenues and under the scrutiny of Commissioners and a now-hostile Royal Court, fraternities, masses and so on withered away. Priests could not be salaried, and some conformed. Memorial and other doles could not be given, lights could not be funded, and organised charity could not be continued. These facts were finally recognised by the estatz at the turn of the years 1565–66.

As the witnesses of 1581 remembered, traditional Catholic activities survived until the Commissioners' visit: until the mid fifteen–sixties on disoit messe; the fraternities, doles and other celebrations continued.<sup>142</sup> Before the end of the decade the financial and administrative superstructure of Catholic practice – if not Catholic beliefs and sentiments – had been destroyed.

The religious framework of island life was severely distorted and



shaken by the external forces of the Reformation. It is true that "effective paternal sway requires not only temporal but also spiritual and psychic authority".<sup>143</sup> Once submission to Protestantism was unavoidable, the local elite and its English supporters found in a Calvinist administration the best means of regaining authority, preserving their hegemony, and reconstructing the framework of local order.

## **PART TWO**

### **THE CALVINIST REGIME**

## INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

It has been necessary in the first half of this study to establish a revised narrative of the events of the early Reformation in Guernsey. Some important themes such as the Edwardian Royal Court's sympathy for Catholicism and the survival of traditional institutions had not been recognised before.

The later Reformation has received much more attention from historians. Matthieu Lelièvre, A.F. Scott Pearson, A.J. Eagleston and, above all, Ferdinand de Schickler, all made valuable contributions to the story of Calvinism in Guernsey.<sup>1</sup> Their work may simply be summarised here, in order to provide a background to the discussion of Calvinism in action.

### The refugee ministry

As previous chapters have shown, Protestant refugees played an important part in the establishment and early years of Guernsey's Reformed Church. This had advantages in that men of intellectual repute and international connections were able to influence the island's religious life. But refugees had a tendency to move on elsewhere, or to return to France when the persecution of Huguenots there was temporarily suspended.

Jersey saw the first influx of French refugees in 1569, following an edict expelling Protestant ministers from the kingdom. There is however no record that any fled to Guernsey and, as de Schickler observes, on this occasion the Channel Islands were merely a convenient stepping stone to more attractive places of exile.<sup>2</sup>

After the Massacre of S. Bartholomew (23 August 1572) however, Guernsey was host to a group of Protestant gentry and ministers. Amongst their number was the Comte de Montgomery and his suite, and although the Comte quit the island after some months, several ministers remained.<sup>3</sup> Refugees replaced the ex-Catholic priests still serving Guernsey parishes, and several signed the local Church's Discipline of 1576.

A letter of the minister Nicholas Berny, one of the refugees, written to Robert Horne in 1575, although complaining of the troubles raised by one Elie Bonamy, refers to the "prosperous beginnings" made by the Church at this time.<sup>4</sup>

This may have seemed the case in 1575, but not all the refugee ministers stayed in Guernsey. In 1579 Sir Thomas Leighton, the Governor from 1570,<sup>5</sup> complained to the Privy Council that some ministers had quit the island because the community refused to



pay towards their maintenance. There no doubt was some truth in this, but the Edict of Beaulieu and the Peace of Monsieur of 1577 must also have drawn ministers back to France.<sup>6</sup>

Matters worsened in the early 1580s, after a quarrel between Leighton and some civil officers on the one part and the Church on the other, over the appointment of a lay commissary to prove wills. In 1584 this bitter dispute, described in detail by Eagleston, caused no less a figure than Nicolas Baudouin to quit the island, leaving S.Pierre Port for an appointment in Jersey.<sup>7</sup> Baudouin was followed to Jersey by three more ministers in 1585, and Guernsey was left almost wholly destitute. For its ten parishes only two ministers remained, the refugees Marin Chrestien dit Bonespoir and Pierre le Roy dit Bouillon.

The dispute had another unfortunate consequence in that the Guernsey Church resented the employment of Baudouin and his colleagues in Jersey, and broke off communications with the Jersey Colloquy. As a result, for several years no Channel Island synods were held.

More fortunately for the local Church, another crisis in France brought a new influx of pastors to the island in 1585, following the publication on 19 July of an edict under the Treaty of Nemours (7

July 1585). The principle of toleration was again abandoned and many Huguenots, amongst their number the Prince de Condé and enough ministers to supply all the parishes, fled to Guernsey.<sup>8</sup>

The new ministry was more complaisant than the old, and the rift between the civil and spiritual powers was ended. After 1585 the Colloquy minutes and the records of secular legislation give a greater impression of Church and state functioning in the harmony which Calvinist discipline prescribed. Some of the practical details of this relationship were settled at a meeting of the two powers held in 1589.<sup>9</sup>

Some problems remained, however. There was still a degree of ill feeling towards Jersey, and refugee ministers still were likely to leave Guernsey when conditions at home improved or more attractive positions arose elsewhere. De Schickler quotes four instances of ministers deciding to leave the island in 1590 alone.<sup>10</sup> One of them, Bouillon, subsequently changed his mind but was then forced to flee in 1595 after he got his servant pregnant.<sup>11</sup>

In the early fifteen-nineties several parishes remained destitute of ministers. Individual pastors served as many as three parishes at a time, and the "lay ministry" of the elders even had to conduct

public prayer services in the absence of clergymen.<sup>12</sup>

In 1595 Thomas Cartwright the famous Puritan was appointed by Leighton to the chaplaincy of Castle Cornet, a post he occupied until 1601.<sup>13</sup> Leighton was married to Elizabeth Knollys, whose sister Lettice was the widow of Cartwright's patron the Earl of Leicester (d. 1588). Leighton emulated the Earl in the favour he showed Cartwright.<sup>14</sup> The presence of a figure of such standing brought advantages to Guernsey's Church. Not least, Cartwright helped to effect a reconciliation with the Jersey Colloquy, and in 1596 the thirteen year old quarrel was patched up.

This clearly improved the morale of the Church, and in the following year the revived synod adopted a new edition of the Discipline. Again Cartwright's influence may have been important: certainly he was interested in the Calvinist manifestos and their operation.<sup>15</sup>

The new Discipline was better organised than the 1576 version, and reflected the now established Church's diminished concern with matters such as the form the liturgy should take, and the institution of former Catholic priests as ministers.<sup>16</sup> Both editions of the Discipline did stress the role of the civil power in the godly polity. This is hardly surprising considering the problem of finding

a permanent body of clergy.

The Colloquy had recognised that the appointments of 1585 might not be permanent, and indeed this proved to be the case.<sup>17</sup> The Edict of Nantes (13 April 1598) predictably led to a renewed shortage of ministers. On 19 October 1599 at the suggestion of Cartwright and the elder representing the Castle three ministers were given the charge of two parishes apiece.<sup>18</sup>

Better relations with Jersey did something to alleviate the shortages. In 1599 the Jersey Colloquy gave Baudouin permission to return to Guernsey, which he did. In 1602 and 1603 it seconded other ministers to serve vacant parishes in Guernsey.<sup>19</sup> Even so, in 1606 the Church was obliged to appoint an Englishman who spoke no French to Ste Marie du Castel, the island's largest parish. Three years later his parishioners were still complaining that they could not understand him.<sup>20</sup> In 1607 a like complaint was made against the minister Simon Hearne, who had taken the mastership of the grammar school in the previous year on the understanding that he would "enable himself to preach in the French tongue".<sup>21</sup> Hearne became pastor at S. Martin, where in 1610 his flock complained that his French was insufficient.<sup>22</sup>



## Education and a native ministry

Nearly half a century after the adoption of the Reformed faith in Guernsey the problem of a sure supply of ministers thus remained endemic. The local authorities had encouraged refugees to stay in the island and had borrowed pastors from Jersey with very varying degrees of success. A better solution appeared to lie in the creation of a locally bred body of clergy.

This had been recognised early on, and was probably in the minds of the Commissioners who founded the grammar school in 1563, though their return merely states that the families and friends of the island's numerous youth were "desierous to haue them taught".<sup>23</sup>

In 1570 Leighton wrote to Sir William Cecil pleading for places at Cambridge and Oxford for two able boys educated at the school, so "that in tyme we shalbe hable to have good precheres off this Contre borne subjectes to her highness wher nowe we arr forside to have frenche minesters".<sup>24</sup> With the same reasons, four years later Leighton's patron the Earl of Leicester wrote to Oxford University suggesting the foundation of two scholarships there for each of Guernsey and Jersey.<sup>25</sup>

In 1572 Nicollas Effart (or Effard) and Nicollas Caryé (Careye) were recorded as tous deux escolliers a mestre Adrien Saravia, who was then living in Southampton.<sup>26</sup> These are undoubtedly Guernsey names, and the pupils may have been the boys to whom Leighton referred, staying with their schoolmaster pending the outcome of the Governor's efforts. If so, these efforts appear to have succeeded in at least one instance, since Nicollas Effard is referred to as a minister in Guernsey's Royal Court records in May 1585,<sup>27</sup> and he was appointed to the living of S. Sauveur the following January.<sup>28</sup>

The Discipline had expressed the hope that scholars of good promise would be advanced like this by the Governor and magistrates at public expense.<sup>29</sup> The records of the Colloquy and états show that this was done with some success, and it is worth providing examples which show the commitment of the civil power to an educated ministry, and the degree of education the ministers themselves received.<sup>30</sup>

In 1598 Pierre Painsec successfully applied to the Colloquy for support in his ambition to serve the local ministry, and in 1603 the assembly requested the Royal Court to maintain Jean Perchard at his studies for another year. At the same time, Helier de la Marche pledged his son Jean to the service du pais.<sup>31</sup> Perchard

was granted monies for his studies at Oxford by the Royal Court in 1601, and at Caen University by the états six years later. Thomas Milet also received funding for Oxford from the Court in 1601.<sup>32</sup> De la Marche attended the Universities of Saumur and Cambridge and, like Milet, Painsec and Perchard, went on to serve the local ministry, as did Daniel Fautrart who was at Saumur at the island's expense with de la Marche, in 1611.<sup>33</sup> Élisabeth Labrousse has called the teaching at Saumur at this period "brilliant".<sup>34</sup>

In 1612 Thomas Mauger was granted maintenance by the états, after examination by the Colloquy, as was one Thomas Putron.<sup>35</sup> Mauger fell out with the Church and états in 1624, when he refused to serve a trial term to assess his abilities, and his name disappears from the records thereafter.<sup>36</sup> Nor is Putron recorded as proceeding to the ministry.

The funding of Thomas Picot, who was at Cambridge in 1624, paid better returns, and he was appointed to serve the parishes of la Forêt and Torteval in 1627.<sup>37</sup> Later in the sixteen-twenties the états similarly supported Collas Nouel (at Cambridge in 1628) and Thomas Guille (in France in 1626).<sup>38</sup> The fate of the latter is unknown, but Nouel was recorded as a minister by 1639,<sup>39</sup> and served at S. Martin in 1648, apparently as de la Place's



curate whilst the latter was in England.<sup>40</sup>

By the early seventeenth century, then, the training of local candidates for the ministry could be seen to have been successful, and the policy was continued. Although the supply of ministers always remained inadequate, and some parishes remained in plurality, manpower problems diminished as the Church became better established and organised, not least by the influence of the highly-educated ministers themselves.

### The Church under threat

At Queen Elizabeth's death the synod petitioned James I for the continuation of the Channel Islands' Church settlement. This was duly agreed by a letter of 8 August 1603.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, the appointment of the anti-puritan John Peyton to the governorship of Jersey, and the Crown's religious policy after the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, soon led to discord.

It appears that from 1607 at the latest it was an English intention to reduce Jersey (and probably Guernsey as well) to the English ecclesiastical system. In 1609 Peyton appointed a chaplain without the Jersey Colloquy's sanction, and in the following year a row broke out between them over the respective jurisdictions of



the church and civil courts. In 1613 Peyton went on to appoint an episcopally-ordained minister to a Jersey living, refusing to allow a meeting of the synod to be held to discuss the matter.<sup>42</sup>

Worse still, on 2 November 1613 the Privy Council notified both islands of James' desire "to reduce them to some such conformity as might answeare the uniformity of government in other partes of his Dominions".<sup>43</sup> Guernsey responded to this threat by sending Nicolas Careye and the minister Simon Hearne as delegates to the King.<sup>44</sup> Two years later, the Guernsey Colloquy even declined to meet the embattled Jersey Colloquy in synod because of la difficulté du temps auquel nous sommes.<sup>45</sup> As Eagleston remarks, the Guernseymen "needed all their strength to fight their own battle".<sup>46</sup>

Matters came to a head in 1616 when a disgruntled parishioner summoned the delegate Hearne before the Court of Arches in London. After some legal wrangling the minister was excommunicated. This prompted the Colloquy to send another representative to plead for the independence of the local Church. This was Jean de la Marche. De la Marche's notebook baldly records that he was called before the King on 7 and 20 November, "where he granted me the continuation of our ecclesiastical government [m'appella en son cabinet ... ou il

m'octroya la continuaon de notre gouvernement Eclastique]".<sup>47</sup>

Jersey by contrast saw a dean appointed and the Prayer Book introduced in 1620, and three years later canons modelled on those of the Church of England were imposed there.

De la Marche's arguments for the survival of Guernsey's reformed Church may have been persuasive, but (as Eagleston suggested) Guernsey's strategic significance – especially during the war with France 1626–29, in which some Huguenots supported England – must have added to the Crown's reluctance to upset local sensibilities.<sup>48</sup>

In 1637 the Earl of Danby, the Governor, sent a memorandum to Laud showing "whye the discipline ecclesiastical in the Isle of Guernsey should not be made conformable to the Church of England".<sup>49</sup> Danby pointed out that intelligence was received in the island from the population's Huguenot confrères in France, and that the anti-Catholic stance of the island's authorities secured its loyalty to England.<sup>50</sup>

### Conclusion

This brings the story of Guernsey's Church down to the eve of the

English Revolution, the terminal date of this study. Although this introduction has merely sketched the narrative background for what follows, one important conclusion may be drawn about position of Guernsey's Calvinist Church in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

This is the importance of the civil power in the Church's survival. In accepting refugee ministers, in providing for the education of local candidates for the ministry, and in helping the Church to fend off the English threat which arose in the early seventeenth century, the secular government showed a consistent commitment to the religious settlement it had adopted. The Church could hardly have survived without this secular support.

## Chapter Five

### DISCIPLINE: STRUCTURES

The means of inculcating the ideology of Calvinism into the wider culture were expressed in terms of discipline. It was suggested in Chapter Four that this was an aspect of the faith which was attractive to Guernsey's reformers. They sought, through puissant fonctions, to replace the Catholic polity and the disorder which attended its breakdown with a strictly regulated Protestantism. Calvinist ideas about the proper framework of Church, government and society are the subjects of this chapter.

#### Discipline

It was a matter of Calvinist dogma that since the true Church of the elect was invisible, all people except the most rebellious should be members of the visible Church and subject to its discipline.<sup>1</sup> Membership of the Church was principally expressed through participation in the eucharist. To take part, individuals were required to be "in charity" towards one another. S. Paul (1 Corinthians xi, 27–29) warned of the dire consequences of taking the sacrament unworthily. Discipline sought to ensure the requisite amity existed in the congregation.



Its spiritual aim, in Professor Schilling's words, was the maintenance of "the sacral-transcendental unity of the eucharistic community".<sup>2</sup> These ideas – not without Catholic antecedents – were expressed in Calvin's writings, above all Book iv of his Institutes.<sup>3</sup>

Such theoretical foundations, the practical example of Geneva (where the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques were introduced in 1541) and active evangelism, allowed Calvinist disciplinary structures to arise in the Reformed Churches of France, the Netherlands, Scotland and elsewhere.

The constitutions of these Churches usually were codified in documents which were themselves called disciplines. The Church in Guernsey followed the common pattern, and a synod of the churches of the Channel Islands established its own comprehensive Discipline in 1576. Before then some other version, perhaps French, appears to have been followed, since in 1574 a synod required all ministers and elders to sign a confession de foy and discipline ecclesiastique.<sup>4</sup>

The Discipline of 1576 was revised in 1597. The two editions present similar models of Church government, setting out ideal moral and political relations within and between the Church, the

civil power and the wider community.

Discipline was institutionalized in several Church assemblies. These were organised at three levels, both geographically and hierarchically.<sup>5</sup> Each parish had a consistory (consistoire) comprising minister, parish elders and deacons. Above this was an island Colloquy (Colloque) of all the ministers and representative elders, meeting in the presence of the Governor or his lieutenant. Above the Colloquy was a synod (synod). This was a somewhat sporadically observed annual (sometimes bi-annual) meeting of the Governors, ministers and selected elders of the Churches of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney and Sark.

### The consistories

The Genevan Ordonnances established the consistoire. Calvin's model for this was probably the Catholic matrimonial courts, although the new foundation had wider responsibilities.<sup>6</sup> By definition from 1555 all églises dressées founded from Geneva (like the one established at S. Pierre Port after 1559) had their own consistories.<sup>7</sup> As Dr Prestwich confirms, "the consistory became the mark of a true [Calvinist] church".<sup>8</sup> The Church's other characteristics were "a preaching ministry dispensing sacraments, a liturgy, a pattern of worship, a catechism and a

discipline".<sup>9</sup> By the 1570s the Church in Guernsey had all these things.

The consistory of S. Pierre Port was established on 17 May 1563.<sup>10</sup> Each of the other parish churches probably had its own consistory before 1576, as implied by the Discipline of that year, although the actual existence of some is not attested until 1585.<sup>11</sup> The constitution of the consistories is set out at length in both editions of the Discipline, of 1576 and 1597. The minister of the church was to meet regularly with elders and deacons to transact Church business, regulate the behaviour of the congregation, and enforce discipline. Chapter seventeen of the second edition of the Discipline summarizes the slightly ponderous provisions of the first. These are its articles, taken from the translation published in London in 1642:

#### Article I.

The Consistory is the assembly of the Ministers and Elders of every Church, for the Government of it, and to watch over the manners and doctrine, and to correct the vices, and encourage the well-doers, where the Deacons, together with the proposants [for the ministry], may be assistant to the Ministers, to the end to fashion them in

discipline and guiding of the Church.

Art. 2. The Consistories are to be assembled every Sunday, or other dayes and houres ordained, according to the commoditie of the Consistories, to consult the affaires of the Church.

Art. 3. None shall be called to the Consistory without the advice of the Minister and of two Elders, in case of necessitie at the least: and every Elder or he that giveth sommance, shall call them of his quarter; as shall be ordained.

Art. 4. The Elders shall not report the secret faults, not having observed [if they do] the order commanded by Jesus Christ, Matth. 18. Reprehending in secret the faults that are secret.

Art. 5. The Minister or Elders shall not name to the Consistorie, those whose faults they shall bring to the Consistorie, without the advice of the said Consistorie.

Art. 6. The censures of the Consistorie shall be given before every Communion in the most commodious day:



wherein the School-Masters also shall be censured.

Art. 7. The Consistorie shall choose those which ought to goe to the Colloques [as their delegates].

Art. 8. The correction of faults and offences, appertaineth to the Consistories, excommunication excepted.

Art. 9. In Ecclesiastical Assemblies the Consistories shall make inquisition of the faults which shall come before them: and shall adjure the parties in the name of God to speake the truth.<sup>12</sup>

### The ministers

#### (i) appointments

The 1576 Discipline recognised the Governor's right to appoint ministers, just as he had in Catholic times. It stated that "ministers ... shall be named and presented by messieurs the Governors, to whom this right belongs ...".<sup>13</sup> The Discipline did, however, set out that candidates should be capable of preaching, lead a good and honest life, and understand proper doctrine.

The 1597 edition of the Discipline encroached further on the Governor's rights:

All those which shall be chosen to exercise publike charge in the Church, shall first be nominated to the right worshipfull the Governours, or in their absence to their Leifetenants [sic], after whose approbation they shall be nominated to the people; and if there be no opposition against them, they shall be received to their charges within fifteen dayes after.<sup>14</sup>

These provisions gave the Church the first say as to who candidates might be, with the Governor retaining a mere veto, which was as much – in theory at least – as "the people" (which may refer to congregations or the états) themselves had.

New candidates for the ministry (proposants) were examined by the serving ministers "diligently of the principall points of the doctrine most requiste for a Minister", one or more times. If passing this test they were sent on trial to preach in the parishes. Then it was provided, "if the Church approve of them and desire them for Pastours, the Colloque shall depute to them a Minister for to install them in their charge with the laying on of hands".<sup>15</sup>

As the case of Simon Hearne, the incomprehensible English minister referred to above, shows, this theory did not always match actual practice. Ministers were in too great a demand, and congregations might anyway be over-awed by the wishes of the Colloquy and Governor. There was, nonetheless, something of a democratic spirit in the way ministers were chosen, and the Colloquy appears usually to have followed the Discipline in making appointments.<sup>16</sup>

#### (ii) clerical incomes

Although Baudouin's endowment granted by the Commissioners gave him an income, and other ministers may similarly have enjoyed rents assigned to them, generally tithes were important.

This is indicated by a squabble arising over them in the early fifteen-eighties. On 11 November 1580 the ministers of Guernsey petitioned the Privy Council asking that the payment of tithes on calves, chickens and lambs ("small tithes") should be enforced. On 15 January 1581 the Council remitted the matter to the Guernsey authorities.<sup>17</sup> On 24 April the Royal Court referred to this order, and required that all such payments "in the past belonging to the ministers whether for marriages, burials or otherwise shall be paid to the ministers".<sup>18</sup> Of course, this was

not what the ministers had asked for. They were against payments for the sacraments in principle, as their letter to the Council made clear.

On 10 October 1581 Leighton wrote to Walsingham on the ministers' behalf. He complained that the people had recently refused to pay tithes. This again, presumably, refers merely to small tithes, which (in law) were not due. The Governor thought there was a danger that foreign ministers would be driven from the island.<sup>19</sup> The population was perhaps taking advantage of Leighton's own quarrels with the Church and Royal Court at this time.<sup>20</sup>

Eventually, as long after this as May 1585, the ministers Effart and Milet complained to the Royal Court that they received no tithes of calves, chickens and lambs. On this occasion, and rather disingenuously, the Court ordered that tithes of these should be paid, as previously ordered (it said), to compensate for payments once made for marriages, cenēs (sic, for messes), baptisms and burials.<sup>21</sup>

This little affair suggests that the ministers were not highly paid, but principled enough to refuse payments they thought superstitious. The community appears to have been willing to



follow the law, since no prosecutions for non-payment of small tithes have been noticed. The Royal Court itself, apart from the few years covering its dispute with Leighton and his dispute with the Church, was happy to go along with adding to ministers' salaries in this way.

As in the Catholic past, some few clergymen may also have taken on secular work. The master of the grammar school was often a minister, including the first, Adrian Saravia. Two ministers even seem to have practised medicine. Jacques Roulles, the minister of S. André, appears to have practised as a doctor c. 1600.<sup>22</sup> In 1634 Monsieur Samuel de la place professeur en medecine is recorded as giving an opinion to the Court.<sup>23</sup> This appears to be the same Samuel de la Place who was rector of S. Martin at the time.<sup>24</sup> Ministers also continued to farm and to rent out glebe lands.

### The elders

Just as Calvin re-defined the consistory, so the "lay ministry" office of elder which existed in the early church was given a new identity by him. In this instance he followed the model of Reformed institutions in Strasburg and Basle.<sup>25</sup>

In Guernsey, according to the Discipline, each consistory was preferably to have four elders (anciens), each assigned a quarter in the parish for his special surveillance. Elders were to watch

upon all the flocke, and especially upon the quarter over which they are assigned by the Consistory: imploying themselves diligently to admonish and reprehend those which faile, to confirme those which behave themselves well, and to accord those that are at discord.<sup>26</sup>

The 1576 Discipline provided that in the establishment of a new consistory the minister should take the advice of the godly members of the Royal Court, and the congregation should thereupon appoint elders.<sup>27</sup> In the case of an established consistory, elders were to be selected by the minister, existing elders and deacons, again on the advice of two or three Court members. This was to be done though "without depriving the people of their liberty to agree to or oppose the election of the ecclesiastical charges and estates should there be cause".<sup>28</sup>

The 1597 version of the Discipline provides that "The Officers of the Church shall be chosen by the Ministers and Elders, without depriving the people of their right ...". As was the case with the appointment of ministers, the elders, as men "chosen to exercise

publike charge in the Church", were to be "first nominated to the ... Governours ... after whose approbation they shall be nominated to the people".<sup>29</sup>

It is not now clear whether the names of prospective elders were in practice submitted to the Governor for approval, nor if congregations ever raised objections to candidates. Certainly for an ordinary parishioner to object to an appointment approved by the Church – and possibly the secular power as well – would have been daunting.

Elders were obliged to attend the consistory, and, as necessary, the Colloquy and synods.<sup>30</sup> They had the pastoral care of seeing that parishioners behaved piously in their homes. Upon taking office an elder was instructed regularly to visit,

all the families of your quarter, as well to your neighbours, as those that are of your own household, to know whether they live in the feare of God, whether they frequent preaching, if they doe pray in their houses, their particular prayers evening and morning, before and after meate.<sup>31</sup>

Their associated police functions required the elders to see that parishioners were in a proper state to receive the quarterly

communion, and if not to ensure this was corrected:

They shall visit (as much as in them lieth) the families of their quarters every Communion, and once of the yeare with the Minister, to know how they are governed in their houses, and if they finde there any contentious and rebellious persons, that will not be reconciled, they shall referre them to the Consistory.<sup>32</sup>

The elders thus were an important link between the parish community, discipline, and the Church establishment. In parishes which had ministers, we should note, these visited less often, were fewer in number, and often foreign.

### The deacons

The deacons were "ordained in the Church to gather the almes of the people, and to distribute them according to the necessitie of the poore".<sup>33</sup> They sat in the consistory, as the least "lay ministry". They were obliged to make house-to-house collections in times of particular need, to keep accounts, and to visit the poor, sick, impotent and prisoners, offering assistance and comfort.<sup>34</sup> The most important of these functions will be examined in detail in Chapter Seven.



## The consistories and Church administration

The consistories had general responsibilities in connection with parish and church business – a duty "to consult the affaires of the Church",<sup>35</sup> as the Discipline put it.

This duty included the keeping of records. There was a strong Protestant emphasis on the value of "the examined life" in institutional matters as much as in private affairs.<sup>36</sup> The 1576 edition of the Discipline provided that a written record should be kept of consistory business, and some parts of the minutes of the assemblies at S. André (1615–55) and S. Martin (1627–55) survive.<sup>37</sup> These, together with the usual parish registers, the editions of the Discipline, the Colloquy's minutes (1585–1619), deacons' accounts, and the "Recueil de Thomas Milet" (a digest of S. Pierre Port Consistory and Channel Island synod minutes 1563–1605, copied in the seventeenth century by Lord Hatton)<sup>38</sup> yield much information about the business of the consistories, and the Church as a whole, in this period.

Gaspard Ollyvier, the Royal Court's greffier, was the first scribe of the S. Pierre Port consistory,<sup>39</sup> and other scribes were appointed, selon la coustume ordinaire,<sup>40</sup> to keep registers. Their surviving works are notable for their neatness. Trouble

was taken to preserve them, and an act of the synod of 1568 required that there should be "a chest wherein to keep business (les affaires), letters, papers and church books".<sup>41</sup> In 1618 the consistory of S. André partitioned a section of a pew in order to make a place to serve this function.<sup>42</sup>

There was concern that meetings should be held regularly and be conducted properly. The synod of 1567 ordered that consistories should have special meeting places within the churches.<sup>43</sup> The Discipline provided that weekly meetings were to be held on Sundays, although the consistory at S. Pierre Port initially met at 2 p.m. on Thursdays.<sup>44</sup> Members failing to attend were to pay one gros sterling to the poor box. Persistent absenteeism could result in temporary exclusion of the offender from the cene, as the Church called the eucharist, or, ultimately, full excommunication.<sup>45</sup> In 1624 the consistory of S. André ruled that members who failed to attend sessions at 8 a.m. prior to the quarterly cene were to be suspended from communicating for a quarter.<sup>46</sup>

Poor attendance of members at consistory meetings seems to have been a recurring problem. In 1610 complaint was made to the Colloquy that the consistories of parishes other than S. Pierre Port met only rarely. The Colloquy found it necessary to remind

ministers and elders of the requirements of the Discipline.<sup>47</sup> Finding members to serve sometimes was difficult, and in 1612 the Colloquy had to provide for the settling of deadlocks within consistories which had only a single elder and deacon.<sup>48</sup>

The consistories were also responsible for the direction of lay officers and the upkeep of cemeteries. There is no record of the involvement of the ecclesiastical authorities in the upkeep of the fabric of church buildings themselves. The Calvinist Church was not noted for its emphasis on the architectural setting of worship, other than in providing for the centrality of preaching. Such a concern is indicated by a minister's gift of a new pulpit and gallery to the church of S. Martin in 1657.<sup>49</sup> The same priorities account for an order of the synod of 1567 that wooden partitions and screens [trallys] should be removed from churches.<sup>50</sup> Peter Heylyn recorded that the churches were "destitute ... both of ornament and beauty" in 1629.<sup>51</sup> By 1677 they were said to be in a "delapidated state".<sup>52</sup>

Ideally the consistories formed effective committees for the management of everyday Church administration. Care was taken to conduct their own business formally and with proper record, and this administrative concern extended out into parish life. We will return to examine the effectiveness with which they



actually ordered these and other affairs (including the important matter of poor relief) in Chapters Six and Seven.

### The consistories and social discipline

Social regulation represented a major part of consistory business. It is no surprise that this was so in a Church which insisted upon the membership of the whole community, elect and reprobate alike. Indeed the minister Jean de la Marche reported such work as the sole function of the consistory. It met, he wrote,

to consult concerning the scandalls or offences committed by any members of the said Congregation, either in publique or more privately: and that either to reconcile parties that are at variance, to warne them that are unruly, and to proceede in brotherly charity by the censures of the Church against such as are rebellious, and that will not bee admonished: in a word, to set all things in order that may be amisse to the glory of God, and better edification of the Church.<sup>53</sup>

The registers of the consistories at S. Martin and S. André contain numerous examples of their work in these fields. Matters as various as petty or violent squabbles, insults offered to



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neighbours, wife-beating and general matrimonial disharmony, sexual slander, cursing and sorcery, drunkenness and dancing, card playing, bridal pregnancy and illegitimacy all were investigated and punished by the consistories. They also watched over the religious behaviour and attitudes of parishioners, correcting offences such as the profanation of the Sabbath, absenteeism from church services, and failure to obey the consistory's demands.

These areas of surveillance reflect a desire not only that people should conduct their daily lives in a Christian manner towards one another, but also that they should be "in charity" before the ritual sharing of the cene each quarter. Accordingly, beside the usual weekly meetings, the consistories met with special diligence before the cene especially to hear the reports of elders and to discipline erring members of the congregation in preparation for it.<sup>54</sup>

The Discipline further provided that the members of the consistory should censure or admonish each other, and the schoolmasters, on these occasions, reviewing each others' morals and behaviour.<sup>55</sup> There was a particular concern, then, that Church officers should set a good example to parishioners.

If private admonitions for small errors failed,<sup>56</sup> or if elders considered offences serious, then parishioners were summoned before the consistory.<sup>57</sup> Submissions were heard, and the case dismissed (and sometimes a complainant punished), or the guilty person was censured (sancuré), or disciplined by exclusion (retranché or suspendu) from the cene for the next quarter, or until contrite and reconciled. This frequent punishment was called by the 1576 Discipline the first degree of excommunication.<sup>58</sup> It served to limit scandal and discourage other potential offenders. Suspension was not as serious as full excommunication, which was a publicly announced "full and complete exclusion both from the cene and the body of the church", and was the business of the Colloquy and synods.

Parties suspended from the cene who showed contrition might be required to do public penance (reconnaissance publique) before being re-admitted. The 1597 Discipline set out the manner of doing this:

If the sinner commeth to repentance, desiring of the Consistory to be received to the peace of the Church, diligent information must be had of his conversation, and shall advise the people thereof the Sunday before he be received, and make confession to have peace of the

Church ... The second Sunday he shall present himselfe before the Pulpit, and shall confesse his fault, asking pardon of God and of the Church by his owne mouth, in ratifying onely that which the Minister shall have said of his repentance.<sup>59</sup>

The areas of discipline which were the business of the consistories, whilst wide, were strictly demarcated. The consistories were subordinate to the larger ecclesiastical assemblies, and were (like the Colloquy and synods) expressly barred from encroaching upon secular authority. They therefore sent cases likely to warrant a civil punishment, or which were particularly heinous, to the Royal Court, sometimes via the Colloquy. Similarly, offences likely to deserve full excommunication were transferred to the Colloquy. Interaction between the consistories and these island-wide institutions thus was necessary. The consistories operated a system of social discipline at parish level which meshed with the work of larger, more powerful bodies which were concerned with the behaviour of the island community as a whole.

### The Colloquy

The Colloquy was the lesser of what the Discipline calls the two

"compound ... assemblies", comprising delegates from the parochial consistories.<sup>60</sup> De la Marche calls it the "Provincial Synod".<sup>61</sup> All the island's ministers and two elders from each consistory made up its membership, although the absence of one or both elders from Colloquy meetings was not uncommon. Sessions were summoned by the Governor or his lieutenant, who also attended.

The Chairmanship of the Colloquy was taken by the clergy in rotation, with "... the Ministers in their successive turnes from the eldest of them to the youngest ... [being] the Moderators, continuing in the said office from one Colloque to another; that is for the space of three Moneths ...".<sup>62</sup> According to this passage and the Discipline the Colloquy met quarterly, ten days before each cene, but in practice the calling of extraordinary sessions meant it assembled more frequently. Over the thirty-four years covered by its surviving minute book there were 203 meetings, an average of six a year.<sup>63</sup>

The business of the Colloquy concerned both the settling of affairs remitted to it by individual consistories, and the discussion of matters of island-wide significance. The finding of ministers, promoting fasts, making collections for Reformed congregations abroad, maintaining relations with the civil power, and



recommending moral and religious legislation to the Royal Court, were all of concern. Doctrinal affairs were the particular province of the Colloquy and synods, and the full excommunication of offenders was also reserved to them.<sup>64</sup>

As in the case of the consistories and their duty regularly to censure their officers, members of the Colloquy also watched over each others' behaviour. The Discipline provided that

At the end of every [Colloquy] assembly they shall give a brotherly censure of the Consistories, in generall of the Ministers and Elders, which shall be assistant there, and principally of that which hath been done in the assembly during the action.<sup>65</sup>

### Synods

Synods, the second of the "compound ... assemblies", called by de la Marche "Nationall", were meetings of the Reformed Churches of the Channel Islands.<sup>66</sup> Each year, or sometimes every other year, the colloquies of Guernsey and Jersey, together with the single ministers serving Alderney and Sark respectively, with one or two elders from each, congregated in one or another of the Islands.

The acts of the synod of 22 September 1567 provide a full yet typical example of its role.<sup>67</sup> Public behaviour in church and street, church furnishings, the problems of pilgrimages, swearing, drunkenness, lewd behaviour (including dancing), marriages not consented to by parents, excommunication, pluralism, education, the provision of church readers and ministers, and the poor were all matters addressed. Particular matters such as relations with the Diocese of Winchester, the excommunication of two rebels, and Sark's lack of a minister, were also dealt with.

At the end of synod meetings there was the usual brotherly censuring of one member by another to which the clause of the Discipline quoted above referred. In keeping with Continental practice and a resolution of the synod of 1570,<sup>68</sup> the ministers attending synods also took turns to make expositions of scripture for the criticism of their colleagues (feront du propositions et exposeront). This compares with the English Puritan love of "prophesyings", an enthusiasm which was shared by the Guernsey clergy.<sup>69</sup> In these matters of censure and prophesying the minister of Sark was to assess and admonish the ministers of Jersey; those of Jersey, Guernsey; and those of Jersey, Sark. Their subjects were to be matters of unity in doctrine and their association. Alderney at the date of this resolution apparently did not yet have a Calvinist minister.

As already mentioned, for thirteen years after 1583 no synods were held because of the rift between the colloquies of Jersey and Guernsey. On reconciliation, it appears that synods were held in 1596, 1597, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1607, 1609 and 1611, and very likely in other years for which there remains no record.<sup>70</sup>

In 1615 the Guernsey Colloquy again declined to meet in synod with that of Jersey, in the light of English attempts to impose an Anglican settlement in both islands, and the synod disappears from sight after the fall of the Reformed Church in Jersey. It cannot have been held any more. The Jersey Church was no longer within the system, and Sark and Alderney had voices in the Guernsey Colloquy in any case, which, according to the Discipline, their representatives were to be obliged to attend at least annually.<sup>71</sup>

The importance of the synods is therefore a feature of the earlier period of Guernsey's Calvinist Church. The advantages of collaboration between the Churches of Guernsey and Jersey were recognised from their earliest days. The first meeting of the S. Pierre Port consistory assented to an accord made with its counterpart in S. Helier (Jersey), and the first synod, held 28 June 1564, pre-dated the Calvinist acquisition of secular power

and the general establishment of Reformed discipline in the island's churches.<sup>72</sup>

The synod, as long as it was held, provided a body in which the churches of the Channel Islands could meet to formulate common policies. Guernsey's reluctance to participate in synods when Jersey's Church was threatened perhaps contributed to the failure of the latter. Synods provided a forum (held in the presence of the governors of the islands) which dealt with matters which concerned the Colloquy, but with greater authority; scrutinized the standards of preaching and conduct of the clergy; served to define doctrine; and punished the more serious misdemeanours of ministers and laity alike.

### The Church and the civil power

#### (i) the role of the magistrate

Calvinist dogmatics stated that proper social discipline could only be maintained through the godly collaboration of Church and state. The Church had the duty to define true doctrine and punish some religious error with excommunication. At the same time the figure of the magistrate (as the civil power was personified), guided by the Church and the word of God, had the



duty to mete out punishment for serious religious and moral error.

Thus whilst the ecclesiastical bodies from consistory to synod as such had limited jurisdictions, the lay courts had a religious duty to operate according to the Church's guiding principles. The magistrate himself was subject to ecclesiastical discipline, and his office, whilst properly a separate power, ultimately was subject to the greater authority of the word of God as interpreted by the Church.<sup>73</sup>

This theoretical arrangement is expressed forcefully in the Guernsey Discipline. It prefaces remarks on the magistrate's duties with clear statements of the separateness of the "two swords" (the secular and religious powers) and how they should function in concert:

The Leaders in the Christian Church, where the Magistrate is faithfull, are the faithfull Magistrates which have civill government, and the Pastors, and such as watch over the flocke, which have the spirituall administration. ... These two Governours are established by the ordinance of God, as necessary to the leading and upholding of his Church in good order. The one having principally the charge and conduct of the body, and of the goods governed [sic, for

governs] by civill Lawes, and by the materiall sword. And the other having the charge of soules and consciences, to administer his charge by spirituall Lawes and by the sword of the word of God. These two governments should be so united, that there should be no confusion of them, and so separated, that there should be no contrarietie, but to sustaine and maintaine one the other by a good agreement, as the armes of one and the same body.<sup>74</sup>

The "two tables" of the law, that is the first four and latter six of the Ten Commandments respectively, were to be upheld by Church and state alike. This is expressed in the second chapter of the Discipline:

The Magistrate ought to watch upon the body and goods of men, that above all he may procure that the honour and service of God may be maintained. And therefore as he punisheth murther and theft, and other sinnes against the second Table, so he should punish the blasphemers, contemners of God, and Idolaters, which sinne against the first Table. And all those (which contrary to honesty and the publike peace) give themselves to dissolutenesse and unlawfull playes: as on the other side, he ought to preserve the good and advance them in riches and

honour.<sup>75</sup>

Thus whilst there was a doctrinal conviction of the separateness of the "two swords",<sup>76</sup> hypothetically dividing the areas of activity of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, in practice these were required to act together in enforcing discipline. The magistrate, who in Guernsey was indeed of the "faithfull", was to enforce discipline and at the same time was subject to it. In effect, then, the Discipline provided for the subjection of the magistrate to the Church, whilst claiming for the Church an independent power of its own.

- The Discipline stated that "All Ecclesiastical matters there [in Church assemblies] shall be intreated of, and decided by the Word of God, without taking upon them any civill Jurisdiction",<sup>77</sup> and no Church assembly had power to levy fines. A synod acknowledged this in 1569.<sup>78</sup> Twenty years later the Colloquy expressly agreed that whilst the ministers and consistories had the duty to deal with Church scandals and faults, "... as for crimes and other faults which merit corporal punishment, or amende honorable or pecuniary fine, the cognisance thereof belongs to the magistrate".<sup>79</sup> Thus the Church required the civil power, with its strongly coercive machinery of corporal punishment, fines, and so on, to enforce the standards of social discipline and

religious conformity which it laid down.

(ii) the Governor and the Colloquy

The magistrate, in the various guises of Governors and their lieutenants and the members of the Royal Court, was generally represented in Church assemblies.

a. the attendance of the Governor

The most prominent magistrate to attend Church assemblies was the English Governor. He or his lieutenant was responsible for summoning meetings of the Colloquy, and in the period for which its minutes survive this was done regularly. Of the 203 Colloquy meetings recorded in the period 1585–1619, 149 (73%) were attended by the Governor or his lieutenant.<sup>80</sup> Synods were also called with the permission of the Governors or their lieutenants. These they attended as well.

The earliest records of the Calvinist Church reveal that the Governor Francis Chamberlain was admitted to membership of the original consistory on 27 May 1563, and his attendance at synods in the following year, and 1567 and 1568, is attested.<sup>81</sup>



Sir Thomas Leighton, although an international diplomat of some stature, nonetheless managed to be present in person at thirty of the 137 meetings during his governorship (22%). In his absence he was usually represented by his lieutenant.

Leighton's successor, Lord Carew of Clopton (Governor 1610–21) was an absentee, but his lieutenant – or in one instance another representative<sup>82</sup> – attended all but three of the sixty-one Colloquy meetings recorded during his term of office.<sup>83</sup> Carew's successor, Henry Danvers (elevated to the Earldom of Danby in 1626), the Governor 1621–44,<sup>84</sup> was also an absentee, although he did visit the island in 1629. His lieutenant Sir Peter Osborne (himself Governor 1644–46) had little sympathy for the Calvinist Church.<sup>85</sup> It is not clear how his office was represented, if at all, in the Colloquy in the years preceding the Civil War. Danby nonetheless strongly supported the established ecclesiastical regime on utilitarian grounds, with the reasons he set out for Archbishop Laud in 1637.<sup>86</sup>

#### b. the role of the Governor

These Governors and their lieutenants did not just attend Church assemblies and give them a secular dignity. Rather from the Church's earliest days they actively involved themselves in its

business as officers of the civil power. Francis Chamberlain agreed at a consistory meeting in October 1565 that it should have control of the revenues of the cure of S. Pierre Port. In the same month he confirmed Saravia's appointment as a local minister after the laying on of hands in his presence.<sup>87</sup> He also joined with the rest of the consistory in the presentation of articles of discipline, and in turn agreed to be subject to specific regulations laid down by the synod of 1567.<sup>88</sup> At the same meeting he further agreed to see that a school should be sufficiently maintained and staffed.<sup>89</sup>

The names of the Governors of Guernsey and Jersey (Leighton and Amias Paulet) head the signatures to the 1576 Discipline.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, the 1597 revision of it is stated to be confermée par mesdits Seigneurs les Gouverneurs au Synode tenu à Guernezé.<sup>91</sup> The Governor also had a role in the appointment of ministers, as stated above. Leighton's enthusiasm that the Church should properly be served by godly ministers is reflected in his appointment of Thomas Cartwright as his chaplain.

Leighton worked vigorously with the Colloquy to advance the Church in several respects. He undertook such things as summoning a public meeting concerning a new cemetery, issuing notices to require attendance at services, and later agreeing to

threaten banishment to those who failed to do so. On occasion, he also confirmed the appointment of a schoolmaster, proposed the venue for a synod, and suggested (30 March 1599) that a fast should be held in support of Essex and his army in Flanders [sic, in the Colloquy records, for Ireland].<sup>92</sup>

In their turn Leighton's absentee successors' lieutenants similarly represented the lay presence in Church affairs. The Colloquy register refers to the proposal of a synod, a complaint against a minister for not preaching on Christmas Day, proposing a fast (rejected by the Colloquy because le peuple y en si mal disposé), etc. These are all examples of matters with which Governors' lieutenants were from time to time occupied.<sup>93</sup>

### (iii) the Royal Court and the Colloquy

#### a. Bailiffs

The civil power of the Royal Court was also represented in Church assemblies. Evidence of this has already been provided in respect of the Bailiffs Thomas Compton (1563–71) and Guillaume de Beauvoir (1572–81). Other members of the Royal Court were similarly involved in promoting the cause of the Reformed Church. Leighton's nephew, Thomas Wigmore (Bailiff

1581–87), was not on good terms with the Church for some of his term of office in the circumstances of the dispute between the civil power and the clergy over the appointment of a commissary, and he may not have attended. However, in 1585 Wigmore welcomed the new refugee ministers and attended Colloquy meetings thereafter.<sup>94</sup>

His successor Louis Devyck (Bailiff 1588–1600) had been the commissary whose appointment gave rise to the dispute. Only two entries in the Colloquy minutes mention his presence. Very likely, though, on other occasions he attended as Monsieur le Lieutenant (du Gouverneur), whose presence at this period is commonly recorded by his office rather than under his personal name.

Successive Bailiffs were present at Colloquy meetings in the same capacity: not ex officio as Bailiff, but as the appointed lieutenant of the Governor. Wigmore and Devyck on occasions served in this role, and Amice de Carteret (Bailiff 1601–31) occupied the same rank regularly in the period 1601–05.<sup>95</sup>

(The jurat Pierre Careye (d. 1629) was Leighton's usual lieutenant attending Colloquy meetings 1605–08).<sup>96</sup> De Carteret also acted as lieutenant for Lord Carew at all save four of the sixty-one Colloquy meetings recorded 1610–19.<sup>97</sup>



This combination of the offices of Governor's lieutenant and Bailiff in the same individual was significant. Like Leighton, de Carteret (who was educated at Winchester College and Cambridge University)<sup>98</sup> was able to play an important role in relations between the ecclesiastical and civil powers. Most notably he provided the necessary leadership when the Church was threatened with an Anglican settlement, as described above. In some respects, as the senior magistrate for thirty years, he provided a degree of protection for the Church and secular leadership in the island's post-Reformation religious life, just as the Catholic Bailiff James Guille had done in earlier times.

#### b. the Jurats

The jurats were likewise involved in the larger Church assemblies and very likely in the parish consistories, as elders. Not enough records survive to demonstrate this, however, in any prosopographical manner, though seven signed the Discipline of 1576.

Nonetheless we can be certain that from their first assumption of office the jurats were aware of the obligation to serve the causes of the Church and commonwealth in a religious manner. The incoming jurat took an oath of office with his right hand on the

scriptures, and with his soul as security (sur le peryll et dampnation de votre ame). He swore first to maintain the Glory of God. Next came the honour due to the Queen and the customs of Guernsey. Then the Pope, his ordinances, and all his works were renounced.<sup>99</sup>

Altogether, then, the evidence shows that the various magistrates occupied a prominent position in Church government, and were able to play their required role "to sustaine and maintaine" the religious power.

#### The clergy and the états

Just as the magistracy contributed to the work of the ecclesiastical bodies, in accordance with the Discipline's Ideals, so the Church was represented in the civil administration. Those members of the Royal Court who were personally involved in Church government to a degree brought their own religious convictions into their secular work. We shall see this in action in the following chapters.

After 1605, the Church's representatives themselves participated in an increasingly powerful arm of the secular government, namely the états. At the Reformation the états had largely lost

their political role in island life. Perhaps the stormy sessions at the turn of the years 1565–66 account for the Governor's reluctance to sanction meetings thereafter. Between 1566 and the end of the century, there is only one record, of 1591,<sup>100</sup> of a meeting of the états other than when assembling to elect jurats and prévôts. By this time the clergy had been excluded from membership of the body, having also lost their elective role at a date after 1578.<sup>101</sup> Elections were now made solely by the voice of the constables, representing the parishes.

In September 1591 the Colloquy protested at this state of affairs, and the Governor's lieutenant agreed to take it up with the états. It is not clear that anything came of this – in any case, constitutionally, the matter would seem to fall within the Governor's own responsibilities. Eventually, however, in 1605 when the assembly was firmly re-established, the political power of the parish constables and ministers alike was restored and magnified. The ministers also regained their elective role early in the seventeenth century, at or a few years after the creation of a separate States of Election in 1607.<sup>102</sup> So, just as the civil power was represented in Church assemblies, the Church came to have a voice in an important secular body which met regularly with the Royal Court.

The business of the états was various. To take examples from the first decade of its revived existence, we find the assembly concerned with the setting of taxes and levies on goods and persons, regulating procedure in criminal matters, providing for education, electing delegates to the King and dealing with his commissioners, controlling the export of goods, enquiring about common lands, salarizing a surgeon, and providing for the sustenance of the Governor and the military, and for defences.<sup>103</sup> These concerns typify the activities of the états in the pre-Civil War era. The états were also sometimes requested by the Colloquy to deal with particular matters, for example granting monies to students for the ministry, or discussing jurisdiction over wills. Other matters raised by the religious with the Royal Court were also dealt with in the états.<sup>104</sup>

The ministers took an active part in these works. When ecclesiastical affairs were treated naturally they played an important role,<sup>105</sup> but they also served the états in secular matters. Responsibilities requiring educated (and English-speaking) delegates especially were often entrusted to ministers. Jean de la Marche's success over the continuation of the Reformed Church as the delegate of the états to James I has been noticed. On Charles' accession, deputies, de la Marche



again amongst their number, were sent to plead for the continuation of customs privileges.<sup>106</sup> He served in this role on other occasions as well.<sup>107</sup> De la Marche, who was one of the most active members of the états, also served as a financial auditor, and on one occasion purchased arms at the états direction.<sup>108</sup>

Other ministers similarly were involved in everyday affairs of state. Samuel de la Place was concerned with matters such as serving a committee overseeing the island's defences, and purchasing medical supplies for the military.<sup>109</sup> Frequently other ministers were appointed auditors.<sup>110</sup> The representatives of the spiritual power participated fully in this important organ of the civil administration.

### Conclusion

#### (i) the Church in the neighbourhood

Guernsey's Calvinist Church was equipped with a formidable administrative and disciplinary structure, well suited to impose spiritual authority on the community. Everyone was required by the Discipline, bolstered by the civil law, to attend the Church's services.<sup>111</sup> The Church's officers also went out in the parishes

and into individual households, subjecting them to religious and moral scrutiny. Ministers and elders were obliged to watch the flock closely, catechising them in doctrine, reproof small matters privately, and sometimes bringing more serious misdemeanours before the Church courts.

The system of charity operated by the pastoral lay ministry of the deacons required that the needy be directly in communication with the Church's officers and subject to their enquiries. Those requiring charity were also best advised regularly to attend Church services, since members of the congregation were given priority in the distribution of alms. Again a section of the community was brought face to face with the Church's discipline and subjected to its moral authority.

The consistories sought to watch over the moral and religious attitudes and behaviour of all, including their own members, since the maintenance of good relations within the parish was considered to be a matter for the Church's discipline. At the same time neighbours were given a local forum for the settlement of petty disputes and uncharitable behaviour. Provision was made for formal recognissances of errors and ceremonial acceptance back into the community, and to the symbol of community par excellence, the cene.

In these overlapping areas of religious observance and neighbourhood relations the representatives of the Calvinist Church aimed to draw the community into its activities and doctrine. They also went out physically and ideologically to bring people to accept its discipline. The Church interfered in the life of the neighbourhood in these several respects, in the conduct of all households, and throughout the social hierarchy of the parish, from the destitute to the gens de bien of the consistory themselves.

(ii) the Church in the island polity

Just as individual consistories watched over parish life, so the consistories in turn were watched over by the Colloquy and synods. In these "compound assemblies" the business of the Church was comprehensively treated and matters of doctrine and policy addressed. They were also an important nexus of civil and religious power, attended and served by the magistrate. In turn, after 1605 the ministers acted in the re-established états in a secular role.

In the Calvinist polity the civil power acquired a religious authority, and the religious gained a voice in secular government. This voice was also echoed in the Royal Court, which acted in several

respects according to the dicta of the Church, as discussed in the next chapter.

The judiciary and legislature and the ecclesiastical establishment therefore formed an interlocking executive. In theory at least – and it is ideal arrangements with which this chapter has dealt – the "two governments" might indeed "sustaine and maintaine one the other by a good agreement, as the armes of one and the same body". Calvinist discipline was organised to enmesh itself in institutions at all levels of local life, from the household and the parish to island-wide political and legal assemblies.

The sophisticated organisation of the Calvinist Church internationally accounted for much of its success as the "saviour of Protestantism".<sup>112</sup> In Guernsey the local Church's structure, closely modelled on the same organisation, shaped a new political/religious order with the potential to create a committed Protestant mentality.



## Chapter Six

### **DISCIPLINE: ENFORCEMENT**

The previous chapter described the interpenetrating religious and secular institutions which worked to convey reformed manners to the population. This chapter turns from the ideal arrangements treated there to look at the system in action. The moral and religious attitudes and behaviour which the Calvinist executive tried to foster in the community must be examined, and the degree of success it achieved in creating a godly culture assessed.

In the course of the discussion significant differences between Church and state emerge, in spite of the theoretical harmony existing between them. Overall the Court did not enforce Calvinist-inspired legislation as strictly as the Church desired, since the religious and secular attractions of discipline differed. The failure of the Court to impose secular punishments in several moral and religious areas, and its lack of active participation in controlling aberrant behaviour and imposing godliness means that Guernsey cannot be said to have had a wholly Calvinist culture in the years before the Civil War.

### Areas of concern

This is not to say that the Colloquy, synods, and Royal Court alike did not repeatedly confront the same issues, and they often worked in concert to address particular problems.<sup>1</sup>

The types of problems encountered and solutions offered are exemplified in the work of the synod of 1567.<sup>2</sup> Matters the synod debated included the interruption of services, the continuation of pilgrimages on Catholic holy days, blasphemy, drunkenness, unseemly dancing, adultery and other lewd behaviour, and marriages contracted by young people. The synod recommended specific punishments for these offences, and requested the Royal Court to pass appropriate ordinances. Within a week the Court had done this.<sup>3</sup>

Further acts of the Royal Court repeated and modified these and similar laws. Ultimately, in 1611, the godly legislation was embodied in a comprehensive code of ordres politiques under the heading Des Devoirs de Piété, et Religion et Honnesteté Chrestienne.<sup>4</sup> Although new laws were enacted thereafter, the provisions of this Code had force of law throughout the rest of the Calvinist era, and set the tone of all subsequent ordinances.<sup>5</sup> They provide our themes.<sup>6</sup>

## Catholic survivalism

The early years of Elizabeth's reign have been characterised as the age of Catholic "survivalism" in England.<sup>7</sup> The description applies equally to Guernsey at the same period and in some respects for a considerable time after. The legacy of Catholicism provided several problems for the Reformers.

It was noted above that in the fifteen–sixties certain priests had celebrated Mass in a parish church and elsewhere, and that the people allegedly accepted new services "for countenance sake" only. A will of 1569 was cast in Catholic form, and in the same year debts were settled in a confraternity chapel and near a wayside cross. This sort of survivalism in the earliest years of the Calvinist Reformation is not really surprising, since the most optimistic reformers could not hope to wipe away the practices and allegiances of centuries at a stroke. This did not discourage vigorous attacks on them.

Some demonstrations of Catholicism were easily addressed. For example, the Discipline provided that the "doores of the Church shall be shut after the Sermon and the publike prayers, to wipe away all superstition".<sup>8</sup> Referring to this, Peter Heylyn tartly observed (c. 1629) that "... having nothing in their Churches to

provide superstition; the caution is unnecessary". However, his account of the ruined chapel on Lihou (an islet off Guernsey's west coast) suggests otherwise. Heylyn noted that as sailors passed along the coast, "they strike their top sail ... such a religious opinion they have of the place, that though the Saint be gone, the wals yet shall still be honoured".<sup>9</sup>

The caution to keep churches shut was in fact well founded. In 1589 the Colloquy ordered that the church of S. Sauveur should be locked outside preaching times on account of the superstition qui s'y commet.<sup>10</sup> A degree of "superstition" nonetheless continued, and in 1593 one "M. Blondel" – the jurat Jean Blondel, who last attended Court 12 March 1593 – was buried inside the church, contrary to the Discipline.<sup>11</sup> The matter was reprehended by the Colloquy when raised at its meeting of 6 April. More surprisingly still, the Royal Commissioners of 1607 were petitioned to allow the community "to bury their dead within the church ... [and to] ring the bell when they do depart out of this life".<sup>12</sup>

Pilgrimages also retained some following. The synod of 1567 sought to control the presence of people who had no urgent business at or near places of pilgrimage on hallowed days (jours principalement) and suggested a fine of twenty sous.<sup>13</sup> The



Royal Court duly enacted this, but set the fine at sixty sous for the first offence, and provided that the offender should be punished at its discretion for reoffending.<sup>14</sup> There are no prosecutions to be found in respect of local shrines, although these seem to be the sort of place to which the regulation referred. No doubt efforts were made to remove such attractions.

There is, however, some evidence that traditionalists made pilgrimages further afield. On 27 July 1572 Charles Halouvrys was sentenced by the Royal Court

to be put in the profonde fosse <sup>15</sup> at the Castle with irons on his feet and on bread and water until midday Saturday next, and to pay Her said Majesty the sum of £6.13.4 sterling as a fine, and further to acknowledge his fault publicly next Sunday ... in S. Pierre Port church before the parish, and the following Sunday to do likewise in S. Sampson's church before the parish, because the said Halouvrys has confessed having been at the Mass and on pilgrimage [confesse avoir a la messe et en pelerinage] in the country of Normandy. And he is charged and commanded henceforth to behave better, without ever returning to such idolatry, on pain of a one hundred escus soll fine to Her said Majesty.<sup>16</sup>

Legislation against ydolatrie of a more material sort, relating to Catholic statuary and devotional works, had been enacted the year before Halouvrys' conviction. It was repeated in 1574.<sup>17</sup> The first act, of 1 October 1571, ordered the Crown Officers to announce in the parishes that everyone who knew of, or had, any idols, papistical books or other superstitious things (aulcunes ydolles, lybvres papistiques, et aultres choses superstitieuses) should report them or deliver them up within a month, on pain of a twenty escus soll fine. The fact it was thought necessary in both ordinances to offer an amnesty suggests the reformers' influence was far from all-pervasive.

The prosecution of Jacques Alles for retaining certain choses superstitieuses reinforces this impression. On 13 July 1574 he was fined the twenty escus soll which the 1571 ordinance mentioned, having been found in possession of "certain blue velvet ecclesiastical vestments" (... certains vestementz de pers veloux desglize).<sup>18</sup> Alles could no doubt have disposed of this fine cloth if he had wished. Church vestments were for example in demand in Southampton (with which Guernsey merchants maintained close commercial links) for cushions and pillows.<sup>19</sup> Whilst Alles can hardly have retained the vestments for the use of visiting recusant priests, as was sometimes the case in England, he presumably kept them out of reverence for the faith

which they symbolised and, probably, in the hope of its revival.<sup>20</sup>

Contemporaries certainly knew other Catholic items had been hidden away at the Reformation. Concealed objects were sometimes prey to individuals more materialistic than Alles. In November 1585 Edmund Billot of Jersey was whipped and banished from Guernsey after trying to find such goods. He had gone with Collas Ozanne to Normandy to consult conjurers and diviners (Coniureurs et Devins). Subsequently in the company of some local men, who were also investigated, he had dug at and broken down walls at various sites in the island of Herm and in Guernsey, including la hougue Behehé, and at the chapels of Ste Anne, S. George, and S. Germain in the Castel parish. It appears he and his companions found some money or silver at S. George.<sup>21</sup>

Other Catholic objects remained hidden for centuries. In 1913 builders working on the tower wall at S. Samson discovered part of an early sixteenth-century latten service, including an altar cross (which could also be fixed to a staff) and a censer.<sup>22</sup> The fact that these objects had been concealed, and others were thought to have been concealed, suggests that some people still looked to the day when they would be re-used.

The Catholic institution of the fraternity, formerly so characteristic of the community's religious and social life, also lingered on. In 1578 ten men and their wives were brought before the Royal Court "for having met together illicitly and held a fraternity called 'Saint Suzanne's'" (convenu ensemble illicitement et tenu une frairie dyte de Sainte Suzanne). The men were each fined eighteen sous, and sentenced to a Saturday (the market day) in the cage which stood in the market place, save for two individuals who were put in the adjacent stocks at the same time. Finally all were sentenced, "both themselves and their wives, who have assisted at the said frairie, openly to recognise their fault, each in his/her parish before their minister on Sunday next at the commencement of the morning sermon".<sup>23</sup>

Still other Catholic traditions lived on. In 1585 the Colloquy complained to the Royal Court of the scandal and great corruption of manners brought about through the superstitious observation of popish festivals. The dancing associated with them was equally condemned.<sup>24</sup>

Other people demonstrated a reluctance to give up the Mass. Examples from the 1560s were cited above. In 1573 one Richard Girart was flogged "for having obstinately maintained and upheld the Mass", and at the same time a women, Lorenche



Mourant, was sentenced to a day es collyeres for the same crime.<sup>25</sup>

A few even crossed to France to attend Mass, as we have seen in the case of Charles Halouvrys. On 12 July 1587 the Court heard a similar accusation against

Jean Trohardy, son of Nicollas, for having against God's ordinance and word and the laws of Her Majesty the Queen, at the Mass in the town of S. Brieuc in Brittany, promised to follow and believe the law and ordinances of the Pope, being confessed by the monks and receiving confirmation from the bishop of the said place, [confessé par des Moynes, et receu la confirmation par l'Evesque du dyt lieu], and at all times not being then in his full senses but troubled of spirit, as the said Trohardy has confessed and presented to us. And he shows himself repentant of his fault, and in demanding the pardon of God and Her Majesty, and promising to live henceforth as a good Christian, he renounces with all his heart the Pope's laws and ordinances and is judged presently to be put aux collieres and there to stay until seven o'clock in the evening and a notice is to be put above his head stating the reason for his punishment. And furthermore next

Sunday in full congregation of the church or Temple of S. Pierre Port he is to recognise his fault and beg pardon of God, the Queen, and the Church [a son Eglise], and besides the said Trohardy is ordered to live and behave like an homme de bien and good subject of Her Majesty, on pain of corporal punishment with the law's rigour.<sup>26</sup>

Trohardy got off lightly. The English Acte to reteine the Queenes Majesties Subjectes in their due Obedience of 1581 provided "that everye person which shall willingly heare Masse shall forfeite the somme of one hundreth markes, and suffer ymprisonment for a yeare".<sup>27</sup> This gives an impression of the seriousness with which Trohardy's act might have been regarded, even though the penalties it laid down seldom were fully exacted in England.<sup>28</sup> If a decision of the Colloquy of 1610 confirmed earlier practice, he would also have been required to make reconoissance publique of his fault in church before the civil punishment.<sup>29</sup> This prior humiliation was a penalty merely for witnessing the Mass. The fact that his father was probably the same Nicollas Trohardy who was a jurat <sup>30</sup> 1569–80 perhaps accounts for the Court's leniency to Jean Trohardy. One Julian Nouel was remanded in the Castle on 22 June 1616 for similarly attending Mass in Normandy, but no record of his sentence has been found.<sup>31</sup>

There likewise survives only the earliest part of a pathetic case heard as late as 24 July 1641. On that date the Crown Officers were ordered by the Court to investigate Pierre Nampt and five other men, three of whom were Nampt's sons. They were accused of "having transported and clandestinely put out of the island the person of Susane Nampt, daughter of the said Pierre senior, with a child which she had had through lewdness [qu'elle avoir eu de paillardize], which child was baptised at the Mass in Lower Normandy".<sup>32</sup>

If Susane's child had been born within wedlock, it may well have been baptised in the island according to the rites of the Reformed Church. Her family must have been concerned to protect themselves from shame. They also sought to save Susane from the punishment and humiliation which, as we shall see, was the paillarde's lot. So whilst this is not evidence of the Nampt family's active Catholicism, it does demonstrate a very strong attachment to the traditional practice of baptism. This was sufficiently ingrained to drive them to act in a way which was anathema to the Protestant Church, but to them was above the considerations of creed.

Problems like this one, and the attendance of islanders at masses, were in part a consequence of Guernsey's proximity to

France. This also allowed a degree of Catholic infiltration. In 1602 a complaint was made to the Colloquy about the import of popish books into the island, such as the Vita Christi.<sup>33</sup> A similar concern precipitated a lengthy ordinance of the Royal Court of 1615, directed against the import of tout impye et corompue editions of the Bible said to have been translated by the Jesuits.<sup>34</sup>

In another move to rid Guernsey of outside influences, in 1594 foreign servants were required to swear allegiance to the Reformed faith within two years of arrival.<sup>35</sup> As late as 1611 the Royal Court found it necessary to order that

all idolators and superstitieux who, voluntarily persisting in their obstinate and malicious ignorance, demonstrate, whether in word or effect, not having renounced the Pope and the Mass, and all their dependencies whatsoever – the abominations of the said Antichrist – in such manner as the occasion requires, shall expressly abstain from the sacred exercises of the word and the holy sacraments: as well as [those] who having been by the Church excluded [from the sacrament] for the continual space of a year together: as likewise all others who absent themselves for so long on some pretended pretext or excuse: [all these]



shall periodically by all officers diligently be searched out and presented in Court, there to receive the punishments merited by such grievous faults.<sup>36</sup>

In 1616 the Colloquy was still complaining of "certain papist foreigners who infect the people concerning religion".<sup>37</sup> Catholic sympathies clearly lingered on, yet it is not helpful to identify Catholic practice in Guernsey with English recusancy, nor with the sort of militant Catholicism found on the Continent. There is no evidence of Catholics refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy (which is not known to have been offered in Guernsey), or upholding Papal supremacy.<sup>38</sup> No practising priests are known to have been present in the island after the fifteen-sixties. The "hedge priests" had apparently gone, and it most unlikely that missionary priests ever visited. Local Catholic activities, although to some degree sustained by the island's proximity to France, show no trace of Counter-Reformation passion, but were survivals.

But if the Catholic faith had been driven out of the island's churches, it nonetheless appears to have retained some hold within the community, even if sometimes somewhat debased and corrupted. For a long period usages and mentalities which Protestants identified as Catholic and superstitious survived. For

decades after the 1560s certain people still held the Mass in awe, still wanted to be buried in the parish church, to preserve Catholic paraphernalia, to meet in a fraternity, to observe festes papales "superstitiously" and with dances, to have children baptised honourably even if conceived in paillardize, and to converse with foreigners and read Catholic works.

### Popular superstition

The Calvinist establishment also had to cope with various activities which although not strictly Catholic were equally reminiscent of the traditional faith, often having been accommodated by the Catholic Church. Some were more "religious" than others (although still "unofficial"), but the reformers identified all with Catholic "superstition".<sup>39</sup>

One continuing practice which was overtly religious was praying for the dead. In 1587 the Colloquy complained about "those who pray around the dead in the house where they have died, and light a candle there – a superstition the more dangerous since the old convey and recommend it to the young".<sup>40</sup> This shows the survival of traditional "wakes" and intercessionary prayers offered for souls: a practice directly opposed to Protestant doctrine.<sup>41</sup>

Other practices condemned by the Colloquy show people seeking supernatural protection by unacceptable means. Some continued to look for aid through holy water. S. Teresa averred that "there is nothing the devils fly from more promptly, never to return, than from holy water". That this belief was shared locally is clear from an act of the Colloquy of 1607 which stated that "to obviate the superstition reputed of baptismal water, which some use to cure fevers, it is ordered that the sidesman in each church after the deed forthwith shall tip away the rest of the water present" (Pour obuier à la superstition qui se commet en l'eau du baptesme, dont quelques uns se seruent pour guerir des fiebures, a esté arresté que le Cousteur en chacune eglise Incontinent apres l'action espandra le reste de l'eau en la place).<sup>42</sup>

In 1593 a minister asked what should be done about a recent report of "women who are churched for those who die in childbed" (femmes lesquelles se releuent pour celes qui sont mortes en couche).<sup>43</sup> The traditional rite of churching of women had surprisingly been continued by the Reformed Church.<sup>44</sup> The alleged error appears to have arisen as a consequence of the popular belief that a woman dying without being churched should not be allowed a Christian burial. This was not in fact a matter of dogma, Calvinist or otherwise. The misconception nonetheless apparently led to some individuals impersonating deceased



women, and appearing at services to be churched, presumably in the hope of providing retrospective benefit for the souls of the departed. The minister was required by the Colloquy to investigate this, and if true, suspend the offenders from the cene in the consistory.

Other survivals were linked with the old religious calendar. In 1622 the Court banned begging on S. John's Eve and New Year's day – 23 June and 1 January respectively (la vueille du jour Saint Jean et celle du jour de l'an).<sup>45</sup> It was said this recalled "greatly the old leaven [cf. Matthew xvi 6] of the Papacy, by means of which, under shade of charity, superstition is introduced and nourished amongst us". Similar measures were taken in 1625, when begging (guezeries) at baptisms, weddings and burials was also prohibited.<sup>46</sup> Begging connected with these "rites of passage", in particular by young people, was complained of again by the Colloquy in 1634. The Court thereupon repeated its measures against the activity, noting it encouraged scroungers (escorniffieurs) and "manifests superstition and laziness".<sup>47</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter Two, another surviving calendar custom was noted as late as c. 1625 by Elie Brévint, the minister of Sark: "the first Sunday in Lent is called le jour des brandons. At Saint Martin in Guernsey, in the evening of that day, the young men for



a frolic [par esbat] carry straw torches [Brandons du glie]"<sup>48</sup> It is possible that ritual begging was connected with brandones. It is surprising that specific regulations limiting it have not been found, although general legislation against begging and youthful batteries excez et debauches at night times probably applied.<sup>49</sup>

These resilient popular superstitions continued to be observed for decades after the official adoption of the Reformation in Guernsey. Although most had little to do with doctrinal Catholicism, like the aspects of traditional religion which persisted (and with which they were associated), they represented cultural rivals to the Protestant Church and the discipline which its authorities sought to enforce.

### Church attendance

It was a central concern of the reformers that people should attend Calvinist services regularly and practise the correct rites. The Royal Court, synods and Colloquy alike repeatedly directed citizens to be present at services. The rule was set out in the Discipline:

The people shall assemble themselves twice every Sunday within the Church to heare the Gospell preached, and shall

be assistant to the publike prayers: And also they shall assemble themselves once or twice every weeke upon the dayes, which shall be commodious for the Parishes: And every house-holder shall cause to be present his family.<sup>50</sup>

The Royal Court had acted in the spirit of these requirements by 1566, when it ordered that "everyone in their parish shall assist on Sundays at sermons and both morning and evening prayers".<sup>51</sup> In 1575, at the request of the synod, it ordered that sermons should be given in parishes outside the town which had ministers every Wednesday (and on Fridays as well in the town). All households were to send along a person "capable of hearing and understanding".<sup>52</sup> The town's workshops (boutiques) were to be closed during preaching. This act was repeated the following year.<sup>53</sup>

Similarly, in 1589 the Court ordered heads of households (chefs de famille) to be present at Sunday preaching.<sup>54</sup> In 1593 it again required that household representatives in the country parishes should attend weekday services, and those of the town should be present on both Wednesdays and Fridays on pain of a five sous fine.<sup>55</sup>

In 1611 the Code provided that everyone without sufficient excuse should attend Sunday services both in the morning and evening, staying throughout the readings, preaching, prayers, psalm singing and administration of the sacraments, on pain of a five sous fine. As for weekday services, the Code decreed that these should be attended by each family represented in turn by one of its members capable d'instruction.<sup>56</sup>

Those not in church at the prescribed times and who behaved in a disorderly manner were subject to further punishment. In 1567, at the request of the synod,<sup>57</sup> the Royal Court set a fine of one gros for those found at preaching times (presches) wandering the streets, on the beach at S. Pierre Port, or in taverns without reasonable excuse.<sup>58</sup> These provisions were repeated in 1576.<sup>59</sup> In the same spirit, in 1569 the Court had ordered taverns to close their doors (frumeront leurs huys) during the times of services and preaching.<sup>60</sup>

In 1577 an ordinance was passed which threatened the stocks for noisy behaviour in churches or outside their doors during preaching and baptisms.<sup>61</sup> In the same year banqueting and the receiving of guests at Sunday service times were prohibited. It was also ordered that inhabitants of the town who were present at feasts (festins) in the parishes should return for sermons in

town or resort to the service in the parish in which they found themselves.<sup>62</sup> In 1593 the Court repeated its order that workshops were to be closed. Besides this, the sale of fish was prohibited at service times on Wednesdays and Fridays. People found about the streets then and on Sundays were to forfeit five sous.<sup>63</sup> In 1611 the prohibition on taverns, marchez and other daily labours (including knitting) was restated, and the fine set at eighteen sous.<sup>64</sup>

The Church repeatedly made requests to the Governor and Royal Court to enact regulations like these, and once made, to enforce them. In 1585 the Colloquy resolved that ministers and elders should exhort the people to attend services, and begged the magistrate to ban all games and close taverns before Sunday services. These, it alleged, distracted people from their religious duties.<sup>65</sup> In the following year the Governor issued an order which required attendance "at the commencement of the sermon, above all on Sundays". Each person of capable age without sufficient excuse was also to participate in the quarterly cene.<sup>66</sup>

The effect of this order was hardly immediate, for later in 1586 the Colloquy again protested to the Royal Court about the unwillingness of the people, especially outside the Town parish (aux champs), to attend weekday sermons and catechisms on



Sunday afternoons.<sup>67</sup> In 1587 the Colloquy again complained to the Governor and the Court that religious ordinances went unobserved and the disobedient unpunished.<sup>68</sup> The Colloquy requested that notices (billetes) should be issued requiring the attendance of at least one representative of each household at weekday services; and that those who ought to do so should attend catechism classes on Sunday afternoons. Poor attendance during the week remained a cause for complaint in 1601.<sup>69</sup> In 1615 the Colloquy condemned those who even buried their dead whilst Sunday sermons were being preached in the churches.<sup>70</sup>

The parishes were patrolled by the civil powers during service times. This was required under an ordinance of 1577 which ordered the constables to report the names of those absent from preaching on Sundays and Wednesdays. These were to be fined ten sous.<sup>71</sup> In 1619 the Court reminded the Douzaine of S. Pierre Port of its duty to visit the streets and maisons publiques during les presches.<sup>72</sup> That this was done regularly, and throughout the day – not just at service times – is suggested by the number of convictions in respect of Sunday carousing following the reports of parish constables discussed below. The duties of local officers are also indicated by mention of the presence of a parish constable seated in church "to keep order

in case any accident should occur during the exercise of the fast" at the church of S. Andre in 1621.<sup>73</sup> We also find Jean Girard, a tailor, imprisoned en basse fosse for a weekend in 1616 after having answered back two officiers pour la police who found him sitting "on his gate with arms crossed" when he should have been in church one Sunday.<sup>74</sup>

The Royal Court register Crime <sup>75</sup> shows thirty-two men (but no women) convicted for absence from church services in the period 1611–35. Seventeen of these had not attended preaching. The rest missed the celebration of fasts (jeusnes). Of the former group, eight had been found in 1615 closeted together during service time, and were probably suspected of assembling to share drink or play an illicit game. They were given varying terms en basse fosse.<sup>76</sup> Two years later three men were each fined thirty sous, apparently for drinking when they should have been at the Sunday evening service.<sup>77</sup> Jean Girard, just mentioned, was similarly punished with a weekend in the dungeon for rudely answering back la police. In 1628 five men were prosecuted together for absenteeism and wasting the Court's time. Each was fined ten livres tournois.<sup>78</sup> Of the fifteen men who were convicted of absence from jeusnes 1611–35, one was at the same time prosecuted for theft, another for working as a tailor during its celebration, and seven more for

drinking together at that time. They were variously fined or sent to the basse fosse.<sup>79</sup>

Thus the Royal Court usually prosecuted absentee men who attracted attention by behaving badly in other ways. The lack of convictions of women suggests that the Court's concern was with householders. Particular emphasis was laid on good behaviour during fasts, and no prosecutions for simple absence from the cene appear. Although the consistories and Colloquy concerned themselves with these lesser offences, the Royal Court – which alone could impose stricter punishments – only took action when circumstances were aggravated. The Court thus chose not to enforce the regulations as rigorously as its own orders threatened and the Church demanded.

The Colloquy took cognizance of more serious cases of absenteeism, especially when figures of some authority set a bad example.<sup>80</sup> It also expressed dissatisfaction at the Court's laxity in prosecuting absentees. In 1598 it complained that fines for missing preaching were not exacted. In 1602 it required ministers to note people who had not participated in the cene for some time, so they might be reported to the Crown's Procureur.<sup>81</sup> In the light of the Court's prosecution record, this hope seems to have been in vain.

The usual arena for the prosecution of absentees was the consistory. The register of the consistory of S. André (1615–55) records forty-eight cases of all sorts.<sup>82</sup> It is incomplete (it calls itself a register of only "the most memorable acts and business"), but it nonetheless provides a valuable sample of consistory policy in several areas. Just two of its acts though concern absence from ordinary Sunday preaching. In 1622 André Pipet was reconciled after suspension from the cene on several occasions, most lately for attending preaching only rarely.<sup>83</sup> Guillaume le Lacheur was summoned in 1646 for "ordinarily absenting himself from Sunday preaching", and upon investigation he abused the consistory. He was therefore suspended from the next cene.<sup>84</sup>

Eight actions for absenteeism from the cene were recorded at S. André, the greater number reflecting that celebration's central importance. André Pipet's summons for missing the cene and other services has just been noticed. Other actions include another of 1655 against the recalcitrant le Lacheur, who when summoned "attacked his elder".<sup>85</sup> In 1618 the consistory enquired why Thomas Lihou had missed the cene without sufficient reason.<sup>86</sup> In the same year, upon it being noticed Martin Girart was frequently absent, he was made to acknowledge his error and was received back a la Sainte cene. He was in trouble again in 1623 for the same offence, as well as



for being "a regular fraud" (ordinaire de tromperies), drunkenness and for "quarrels with his wife as well as with several other people".<sup>87</sup> In 1625 three wives were summoned before the consistory for missing the previous cene. Upon promising to be present at the next they were reconciled.<sup>88</sup>

In the records of the consistory of S. Martin (1627–55),<sup>89</sup> which also are incomplete, there are three further cases of people summoned for failing to attend services. In 1627 Collas des Perques, his wife, and François des Perques were publicly suspended from the cene "for not wishing to assist at God's service at holy assemblies on the day of the cene". The husband and wife made their peace the following year and were received back. In 1628 Collette de Calles was summoned before the consistory for absence from services, and for failing to appear before it previously. Upon showing contrition she was reconciled.

This was also the case when Katherine Pitart, the wife of Pierre Sandre, was summoned before the consistory for having milked Pierre Maindonal's cow. On noting that she attended preaching only rarely, and hearing other complaints against her, the consistory suspended Katherine from the cene until otherwise provided. Here, as at S. André, and indeed in the Royal Court,

the accusation of absenteeism often was incidental to other charges.

### Sabbath observance

#### (i) limiting working

It has already been said that markets and workshops were closed during the hours of weekday preaching. The same applied for the whole day on Sundays. The Code of 1611 banned the making of bargains (marchez), which were to be nullified, and the transport of yarn, cloth and similar articles, or grain to and from mills on the Sabbath on threat of an eighteen sous fine. The Code also prohibited the keeping of a tavern on Sundays, except for bona fide strangers boarding there.<sup>90</sup> Activities exposed to the public gaze like tavern haunting, and work connected with the manufacture of cloth and milling thus were especially reprehended. The provisions of the 1611 Code again summed up several earlier pieces of legislation: in 1572 the Court had prohibited the transport of cloth, yarn, grain and flour on Sundays<sup>91</sup> and the regulations concerning the former were expanded in 1578.<sup>92</sup>

In 1602 the problem of unregulated sociability enjoyed on the

Sabbath in connection with the manufacture of cloth had been treated at length:

Upon [the subject of] the insolence and debauchery which are daily committed in the open fields [sur les champs] (as the Court has been duly informed) by those who alongside [the fields] bleach yarn, to the great scandal of gens de bien, dishonour to the Glory of God, and the profanation of the Sabbath Day, it is ordered that from Saturday evening until Monday morning no persons shall place or keep any such yarn bleaching, on pain of ten livres tournois fine to Her Majesty.<sup>93</sup>

Although it is clear from these records that a problem was identified by the authorities, no prosecutions in the Royal Court or consistories for the working of textiles on the Sabbath have been found. It is a similar tale with regard to travelling to mills. In the period 1611–35 there is only a single Royal Court prosecution for transporting corn to a mill on a Sunday. This occurred in 1614 when two men were each fined the prescribed eighteen sous for the offence.<sup>94</sup>

There is a little more evidence of the control of millers themselves. For some time the Royal Court did not ban milling

altogether on Sundays. At a meeting of the Colloquy on 27 December 1616 an elder of S. Sauveur complained of the scandal that "certain millers were constrained by their custumals to mill on Sundays".<sup>95</sup> The Court acted upon this at the next chefs plaids (20 January 1617), ordering that milling should be suspended during Sunday preaching, on threat of an eighteen sous fine.<sup>96</sup> This law was substantially amended a decade later when milling on the Sabbath was banned altogether, and the fine increased to sixty sous tournois.<sup>97</sup>

In 1625 Clement le Vacheur was fined eighteen sous for milling during la presche on a Sunday, and three others were prosecuted for the same offence in 1628.<sup>98</sup> In 1634 Hellier Blondel and Jean Brehaut, both millers, were actioned by a third, Richard le Poidevin, who acted from motives commercial rather than pious, claiming that his rights to water had been affected by the others milling on a Sunday. To this action the Court added the charge of profaning the Sabbath.<sup>99</sup> Its sentence is unrecorded. These three cases are the sum of the prosecutions of millers recorded in the Royal Court's Crime register 1611–35.

The extant parts of the consistory registers tell a similar story. The competitive aspect of milling recurs when we find David le Lievre and Hellier Alles agreeing before the consistory of S.



André in 1624 that henceforth they would mill on Sunday mornings only avant le son de la cloche. When the consistory received them back to the cene it threatened further action if they reoffended.<sup>100</sup>

Le Lievre was no stranger to disputes in, and with, the consistory of S. Martin either. After ignoring warnings he was suspended from the cene there on 4 October 1627 for milling on the jour de repos. He was not reconciled until 30 March the following year. By 24 August 1628 he had reoffended and his case was referred to the Colloquy. Le Lievre's behaviour found some support from Jean Pitart, and he too was referred to the Colloquy (on 21 September 1628) after speaking out at length in the church porch in the miller's defence.<sup>101</sup>

The Colloquy also concerned itself with other activities which detracted from the sanctity of the Sabbath. In 1596 the problem of fishermen leaving port on Sundays to go after rayes (skate) and other fish was brought up. The Colloquy agreed to remit the matter to the synod, in the meantime insisting that fishermen should wait until Mondays before sailing.<sup>102</sup> There equally was little recognition that fishermen were governed by tides, not the calendar, when in 1630 the consistory of S. Martin suspended Collas Desperques and his sons for having put out to pull their

trot lines on the Sabbath. A similar problem had been addressed by the Colloquy in 1593, when it required the consistories of S. Michel du Valle and S. Samson to punish those "who have lifted certain crab pots [banastres] on Sundays and been drunk the remainder of the day".<sup>103</sup> In 1611 the Colloquy resolved that all work on the Sabbath was illegal, and exhorted the magistrate to punish offenders.<sup>104</sup>

The Royal Court's Code of that year did not go as far as to ban all labours. The civil authorities were in fact much less zealous than the clergy in respect of the strict observation of the Sabbath. This is particularly clear with regard to activities which the Court itself endorsed or participated in. In 1596 the Colloquy had condemned parish captains for calling musters of the militia on Sundays,<sup>105</sup> in a manner which recalls the bitterness of Methodists over the same matter some generations later.<sup>106</sup> In 1600 it protested again that these kept men from Church services.<sup>107</sup> No official responses to these protests have been found. Although the Governor Leighton could have banned the exercises, neither he nor the Court acted to do so.

In 1618 the Colloquy complained about the delivery of secular notices after services and alongside the pulpit and asked the magistrate to remedy matters.<sup>108</sup> Again, no reaction of the

secular power is recorded. In the same year the Colloquy requested the Royal Court to change the custom of paying pasnage (a manorial due on keeping pigs) on the Sabbath.<sup>109</sup> In this instance – which did not touch its own interests – the appropriate ordinance was passed by the Court on 3 October that year.<sup>110</sup>

Notwithstanding the Court's reluctance to prohibit all work on Sundays, the records of the consistories show that these much less powerful bodies went some way in enforcing the Colloquy's demands. In addition to the actions taken at S. Martin and S. André against millers and fishermen, already mentioned, we find a family accused in October 1627 of baking bread on a Sunday at the former parish, an error which they acknowledged the following April. In 1631 Jean le Page was suspended from the cene at S. Martin for having openly cut his hedges on a Sunday. Again, though, the Church could not hand down punishments as severe as the Court's pious legislation threatened. And the Court did not enforce that legislation as fully as the Church repeatedly demanded.

#### (ii) drinking and the Sabbath

The control exercised over taverns, whether during the week or

on Sundays, further illustrates the authorities' concern to regulate popular activities. Tavern-keepers were no strangers to regulation: not only was their beer tested by the parish constables,<sup>111</sup> they also paid a tax called tavernage. This was referred to in an ordinance of 1576 which required that "the jurats, officers, and others who keep a tavern" should pay it to their respective constables.<sup>112</sup> In 1599 a system of licensing is referred to, and at the same time opening hours were limited to between six a.m. and six p.m. (or eight p.m. in the Summer).<sup>113</sup> In 1631, when those permitted to keep taverns were listed, the town had thirteen men and three women who were licensed taverners, and the other parishes eleven (all men) between them.<sup>114</sup>

As with other matters, official concern to regulate commercial and social activity was particularly heightened in respect of the times of church services and especially throughout the jour de repos. In accordance with its policy towards commerce generally, the Code of 1611 barred the opening of taverns on Sundays, except for the sustenance of strangers staying there.<sup>115</sup> Once again the Code summed up a series of earlier regulations. In 1569 the Court had banned the sale by taverners of food or drink during the hours of morning and evening services on Sundays, and in 1576 it prohibited opening during presches.<sup>116</sup> Sunday hours



were further restricted in 1580 when it was ordered that taverns should not open until after the evening sermon.<sup>117</sup> In 1585 and again in 1602 they were prohibited from serving drink at all on the Sabbath, and a fine of 100 sous was set for offending proprietors.<sup>118</sup>

Despite referring solely to taverns, prosecutions show that these laws applied to any places selling drink for consumption on the premises, there being prosecutions of taverners and of hosts who kept people drinking in their houses on the Sabbath alike. Houses which were scenes of Sunday tippling presumably were equivalent to English alehouses. Like them, they often seemed to have avoided the licensing requirements laid down for the more substantial establishments.<sup>119</sup> The Royal Court register Crime reveals twenty-three convictions of men (and none of women) for keeping people drinking at their houses or in taverns on a Sunday in the period 1611–35. All were fined the statutory 100 sous.<sup>120</sup>

The Royal Court prosecuted suppliers, not consumers. No people are known to have been punished by the Court for merely drinking at these places on Sundays. Customers were at some risk though if found drunk. In 1567 at the synod's request the Court provided that drunkards should spend a day in the cage,

and twenty-four hours in the stocks on reoffending.<sup>121</sup> The threat of the cage, or a fine for persons of quality, was repeated in 1593,<sup>122</sup> and the 1611 Code provided for the continuation of this.<sup>123</sup>

In 1635 Royal Court proceedings commenced against seven men alleged to have been drunk one Sunday.<sup>124</sup> The case of Collas le Patourel is rather sad. In 1627 he vomited in S. Pierre Port church at Sunday afternoon preaching. The matter was dismissed after the Court found his mishap to be a consequence of illness and infirmity rather than intemperance.<sup>125</sup>

Parish consistories also punished hosts and sabbath tipplers. Samuel de Guaris was called before the consistory of S. André in 1624, for having "kept people drinking at his house on Sunday".<sup>126</sup> His humble apology meant that he escaped with a warning. No records of similar actions in the consistory of S. Martin survive, but in the light of its prosecutions of those who laboured on the Sabbath, and its suspension of Pierre Heaume on 25 December 1631 for drunkenness (albeit in connection with his making a disturbance in the Forêt church) no doubt it shared the opinion of the Colloquy. This was indicated, for example, in 1610 when the Colloquy requested the Royal Court to join in the "suppression of the profanation of the Lord's day of rest by ... the

debauchery committed at taverns on the said day".<sup>127</sup> Two years earlier the Colloquy had specifically singled out desbauches which went on on Sundays at the Tauerne de la Tanerie at les Landes (Valle). The Crown's Procureur in response promised to address this and like problems.<sup>128</sup>

The catalogue of prosecutions and repeated laws shows that whilst the matter of drinking on the Sabbath was to some extent acted upon, some people continued to want to tipple on that day, and others to serve them.

### (iii) limiting playing

The authorities found other sociable activities, several of them based in taverns and ale houses, equally incompatible with the moral standards they sought to enforce. Of particular concern were gaming, "dissolute" dancing and unseemly singing.

#### a. Illicit games and gambling

Although it has been argued that in Elizabethan England several games were banned for largely secular reasons,<sup>129</sup> in Guernsey the campaign against gaming had an obvious moral and religious character. Games were particularly reprehended on the

Sabbath. The Court first made orders against them as part of the body of legislation which followed the synod of 1567.

Protests from the Colloquy confirm that gaming was regarded as a matter of religious concern. In 1586 it made verbal representations to the Court about enforcing the laws "touching the games of dice and cards, above all on Sundays".<sup>130</sup> In the following year it repeated this desire in a written memorandum to the Court, extending its censure to "all other expensive games" (aultres jeux font une excessive despence).<sup>131</sup> It complained too of persons "who play during the sermon and after the last ringing of the bell [to summon them to it], even in or around the cemetery".<sup>132</sup> Clearly there was reasonable cause for dissatisfaction.

By its 1567 ordinance the Royal Court banned all games except shooting practice and archery.<sup>133</sup> The terms of the order are vague since the jeux are not defined, but later legislation refers in particular to games of chance. In 1569 the Court prohibited the playing of "dice, cards, and tables, whether in secret or openly, for money, both by day and night".<sup>134</sup> Those who operated hostelries and others were forbidden to allow games on their premises, and they, and the players, were liable to a twenty escus fine. The Court issued a reminder of its policy in



1576.<sup>135</sup>

In October 1583 it went further, and ordered that those who allowed dancing, gaming, illicit assemblies (assemblés inicytes), music or dissolute singing on their premises, should "on Sunday, in the congregation of the whole church, in front of the pulpit, with head, legs and feet uncovered, wrapped in a sheet, and holding a burning and lit torch in their hands, publicly recognise their offence" (reconnoestront publicquement leur offence).<sup>136</sup> This is a rare description of a form of the ritual reconnaissance publique. The form described here exceeds the Discipline's definition of the ritual described in the previous chapter, though it accords with the public penance often exacted by the English church courts.<sup>137</sup> As in England, the effectiveness of this sentence is open to speculation. We find the Court returning to conventional secular punishments in 1589 when it set a fine of 100 sous for the same offences.<sup>138</sup>

The problem of gambling clearly was a recurring one, since in 1602 the fine for taverners allowing card playing upon their premises was doubled to ten livres tournois.<sup>139</sup> The 1611 Code repeated this, stating that anyone allowing games of cards, dice or tables should be fined the same amount, and also that anyone who sold dice or playing cards should have their stocks

confiscated.<sup>140</sup>

In 1614 the Court tried a novel approach. Without prejudice to the acts mentioned above, it allowed those who had lost sixty sous or more in gambling to declare their losses to it within a month, and thereupon claim the return of the money from the winner.<sup>141</sup> No actions under this ingenious ordinance have been found, though the Court deserves credit for lateral thinking.

Although no records under this law of 1614 survive, nor of the performance of the reconnaissance publique in the sheet, the Court and the parish consistories did seek to enforce the legislation. In the period 1611–35 there are two Royal Court actions against men for letting people play cards in their houses. One, in 1633, was against an individual who entertained several Flemings, some of whom played cards whilst drinking ches luy at the time of the two presches.<sup>142</sup>

In the same period the Court prosecuted several other players themselves, all men. Again the Sabbath was particularly regarded. Thus in 1612 five men were sentenced to forty-eight hours en basse fosse for playing cards at preaching time on a Sunday.<sup>143</sup> In the following year one of them who reoffended was again given the same sentence. His two companions were

each sent to the dungeon for twenty-four hours on bread and water.<sup>144</sup> In 1617 one of two men who played quoits on the Sabbath was sent to the basse fosse for twenty-four hours, the other being fined eighteen sous tournois.<sup>145</sup> Eight who played the same game one Sunday in 1626 got away with a fine of five sous.<sup>146</sup>

Several other actions were begun, though conclusions are now lost. Five men were accused of playing skittles in a garden on a Sunday in 1621.<sup>147</sup> Job de Jersey, a constable of the Castel parish, was brought before the Court in 1625 for being present at a game of billiards at preaching time on that day.<sup>148</sup> In 1631 an order was made to the parents and masters of eight young men to present them before the Court to answer an accusation of playing cards on the shore of S. Pierre Port (dans le galley) at the time of l'exercise divin on the Sabbath.<sup>149</sup>

The consistories also took action against gambling. There are no examples from the S.Martin register, but at S. André in March 1624 Jacques le Pastourell was summoned three times for haunting debauched assemblies where dancing and card playing took place. For arrogantly answering back he was suspended from the cene for a quarter. He recognised his error on 1 October following, and was received back on threat of being

publicly admonished should he relapse.<sup>150</sup> In 1655 Jean de la Mare was suspended from the eucharist by the consistory for a more bizarre offence. This probably involved both gambling and other aspects of public morals: "Jean de la Mare having been cited in the consistory for having insolently made a bet [?] with a Norman man [donné gages à un Normand] to go wholly naked from the place where he was, is suspended from the next cene".<sup>151</sup>

b. Dancing and singing:

Previous paragraphs have shown in passing that dancing and the singing of lewd songs often were associated by the legislators with other offences like card playing and drinking, and indeed they were similarly punished by the authorities in their campaign to reform the social activities of the local community, especially on Sundays.

Whilst we do not know which dances were performed in Guernsey, there was much about Early Modern dancing in both France and England to shock a respectable clergyman. The Huguenot minister Pierre Merlin, who served at S. Pierre Port 1585–90,<sup>152</sup> asked in a work composed during his exile, "... is it not the height of wickedness when, after one is heated with



wine, one goes to the dance: one hears nothing but lascivious music, one sees nothing but alluring movements, with a licence to say and do almost all one wishes?".<sup>153</sup> Philip Stubbes' definition of dancing as "filthie groping and vncleane handling" is often quoted,<sup>154</sup> and although the opinion of an extreme Puritan, it appears to be well founded. Dances often were extremely energetic: George Gascoigne admitted to "oure tossings and our turnes, owre fryskes, oure flyngs ... Untyll sometymes, we stooble in the same, / And fall downeright, to give the gazers game".<sup>155</sup> These were the days before knickers were usually worn,<sup>156</sup> and the "flyngs" themselves, let alone occasional "stoombles" sometimes meant that, as a French ordinance delicately put it, "what shame obliges us to hide most of all is uncovered naked to the eyes of those taking part and those passing by".<sup>157</sup>

It was also believed that the sensuality of the dance – which sometimes included kissing <sup>158</sup> – could lead to promiscuous behaviour and fornication. Girls might, it was alleged, "returne home to their friendes sometime with more than thei carried forth".<sup>159</sup> Dances also provided a scenario where youths could contract romantic and other alliances away from the control of parents and masters.<sup>160</sup>

Finally, dances were identified by the reformers with the Catholic feasts which they once marked. There was some justification for this. In 1585 the Colloquy linked together the "scandal and great corruption of manners [caused] from the superstitious observation of popish festivals and of dances".<sup>161</sup> For these reasons, besides the implied one that caperings were altogether silly and apeish and hence a waste of God's time, Guernsey's authorities condemned dancing.

Lewd songs (chansons dissolues) also came under the Royal Court and Church's censures. The Court passed a series of laws against such songs and dancing, from September 1566 when all dancing and dissolute singing was banned, with punishment at the Court's discretion.<sup>162</sup> In the following year the fine was set at eighteen sous, both for participants and performers, and for the householders permitting the offence on their premises.<sup>163</sup> In 1572 the Court increased the fine for the former to sixty sous,<sup>164</sup> and repeated this ordinance in 1576.<sup>165</sup>

In 1583 the order requiring reconnaissance publique in church in a sheet was made. However, this seems to have been as ineffective in controlling dancing as it was with regard to gambling, for in 1589 the sixty sous fine for dancing and lewd

singing was repeated. The order also added that no one "should sound or play any instrument at such insolences and dissolutions" (ne sonnera ne iouera d'aucun instrument a telles insolences et dissolutions) on pain of 100 sous. A like sum was to be paid by those allowing these activities and assemblies in their houses.<sup>166</sup>

The 1611 Code rationalised the existing body of ordinances:

Dances at wedding banquets and other assemblies, between persons of different sexes in whatever place are entirely prohibited: likewise all players and sounders of instruments: also all indecent or dissolute songs: the whole on pain of sixty sous tournois fine for the first time, and in the case of obduracy, of greater punishment.<sup>167</sup>

This suggests that dancing by groups of one sex was allowed, but in fact the two Court actions found in the period 1611–35 contradict this. The Court, like the Church, was against dancing per se. In October 1626 a man, four women and autres leurs compagnes were called before the Court for dancing on a day set aside for a fast.<sup>168</sup> The outcome of this case is unknown. Nor do we know the result of the second case, which was heard in June 1631, when eight women were summoned by the Court for



having "profaned the holy day of Sunday about three weeks ago with dances and music [sons de musique], at Pierre le Mesurier the butcher's in the company of strangers during the exercice divin, and passed part of the night drinking with the said strangers".<sup>169</sup>

In the surviving consistory records there are two further prosecutions. The punishment of Jacques le Pastourell at S. André for card playing and dancing has already been noticed. The other arose at S. Martin on 29 June and 2 July 1628 when Perotine de Bretran, Jenette Pitart, Anne Mauger, Anne Dorre and Magdelaine Guille were each suspended from the cene for a quarter for dancing on a Sunday at Elizabeth de Bretran's house. The first three of these girls are referred to as petites filles, though they must have been of an age to be catechised and so take the eucharist. Four of the offenders were received a la paix de leglize the following September.

The attitude of the Colloquy towards musicians may be deduced from its general condemnations. It is illustrated by the body's referral of "Jacques Allez, fiddle player, and Isabel Guillard, bawd" (Jaques allez sonneur de vielle et Isbel guillard paillarde), to the Royal Court in 1605.<sup>170</sup> The matter does not, however, appear in the extant Court records.



The result of the single prosecution for singing lewd songs is known. This occurred before the Royal Court in 1633 when three men were sent to the basse fosse for twice twenty-four hours "for having by dissolute songs troubled the Town's rest on the night of Sunday last". It was further ordered that a fourth man, the ringleader, should be apprehended and similarly punished.<sup>171</sup>

### Disorderly assemblies

#### (i) Youthful excesses and yueilles

The Church's strictures against dancing and card playing extended to other disorderly activities, especially those associated with the young.<sup>172</sup> In 1586 the Colloquy drew the Royal Court's attention to the great numbers of girls present at yueilles, the night time parties which ostensibly assembled to work together.<sup>173</sup> The following year it asked the Court to establish some order with regard to those

who hold dances, likewise veillours de nuit, not without great debauchery and dissolutenesses, [and complained that] those who are found there [ceux et celles qui s'y trouvent, ie. of both sexes] for this purpose do run from

one parish to another and [so] displace the horses of others.<sup>174</sup>

In 1600 the Colloquy again complained of "the insolences which are committed at assemblies of veillés where God is dishonoured by dissolute songs which one sings there, by one holding forth vain words there, and by several other debaucheries which are committed" (de ces insolences qui se commettent es assemblees des veilles la ou Dieu est deshonoré par les chansons dissolues qu'on y chante, par les propos vains qu'on y tient avecques plusieurs autres desbauches qui sy comettent).<sup>175</sup>

The protest of 1587 reveals that the phenomenon of "joy riding" predated the motor car. It refers to youths taking horses to get to the parties, and then turning them loose. The problem was addressed by the Court in 1589, when it ordered "that anyone who by night takes the horse or mare of another without the permission of he to whom it belongs shall be taken as a thief".<sup>176</sup> In 1620 the Court repeated au cri du marche the illegality of taking horses.<sup>177</sup>

A man had been sent to the stocks for this in 1591,<sup>178</sup> and the Crime register 1611–35 reveals four other actions in respect of the offence. Pierre Osmont was ordered to pay twenty sous

compensation and ten sous expenses to Richard Robin for taking his horse in 1623.<sup>179</sup> The following year Jean Renouf was actioned for having cheuauché Pierre Priaulx's mare.<sup>180</sup> In 1626 the Court ordered the seizure of Jean Deslandes. He had escaped the constable who tried to arrest him at the l'Hyvreuse mill for having been trouue cheuauchant les cheueaux daultroy.<sup>181</sup> A similar case against one Samuel Vidamours is found in 1633.<sup>182</sup>

In 1602, "having been duly informed of several debaucheries which are committed at veillés which are held by night both in the town and the country [ez champs]", the Court found it necessary to ban the illicites assemblées, on pain of a fine or imprisonment for both organisers and attenders.<sup>183</sup> The French of this law again makes it clear that these were of both sexes.

This is confirmed by an ordinance of 1631 which spells out the moral and religious objections at length. The Court noted that companies of young men and women when meeting outside and around the town to work at knitting and spinning

run unbridled with an infinity of the most scandalous debauchery, to the dishonour of God, ill fame of the country, to the laying of civil behaviour and Christian

honesty to waste – by consequence of the usual attendance of foreigners at the said assemblies; and the profane and lascivious songs which are sung there; also that such people make a regular occupation of going to rob and thief the gardens and fruits of others ...

[se laschent la bride a une infinité de debauches tres scandaleuzes et au deshonor... de dieu, diffame du pays, de preindire notable de la Ciuilité et honnesteté Chrestienne: au moyen de la frequentation ordinaire des estrangers aux dites compagnies: et des chansons prophanes et lassiuës qui s'y disent: mesmes que telles personnes font un mestier ordinaire d'aller derobier et voler les jardins et fruits d'autrui ...]

The Court noted the districts in which groups congregated, including l'Hyvreuse, where the attempt to arrest Jean Deslandes the horse thief had been made. It went on to repeat its ban on the assemblies. Severe chastisement for the robbers of gardens was also threatened. Voleresses – female thieves – are especially mentioned.<sup>184</sup>

The problem of exuberant youth had still not gone away by September 1633, when the ministers of the parishes other than



S. Pierre Port remonstrated with the Royal Court about young men who, they said, commit

great abuses, [and] scandals, notably on the nights of Saturdays and Sundays going running in great companies from parish to parish and place to place, as a consequence of which there often occur various assaults, excesses and debauchery; and after having run, played and vueillé all night they are entirely incapable of attending the exercices de piété on the Sunday.

The Court accordingly forbade all parents and guardians from allowing any companies of young men to visit their houses. Neither were more than one at a time to visit the girls of the household. None at all were to call after ten in the evening.<sup>185</sup>

Once again, despite its publication in the churches, the order seems to have had little effect. On 16 January 1637 the Court further noted:

Because of the regular and scandalous debauchery which is committed at the assemblies of young people in workshops [boutiques] and other places during the night, which one calls vueilles, it is strictly forbidden to all

qualities of persons [toutes sortes de personnes] to hold them in their houses, and to receive there any such assemblies of young people whether to work or otherwise, at night or day, on punishment of a sixty sous tournois fine to the offenders, applicable half to His Majesty and half to the informer.<sup>186</sup>

In accordance with the legislation the Court punished excesses connected with yueilles, like the "borrowing" of horses and spates of apple scrumping.<sup>187</sup> Other night-time crimes may have been committed at, or going to or from the assemblies, but escaped mention in the trial record.

The consistory records confirm that the laws were a response to activities of wayward young people. At S. Andre in 1623 five (presumably young) men and a girl were made to beg the pardon of God and the Church for having "on the holy day of Sunday run from one parish to another" and were received back to the cene.<sup>188</sup> We suspect that Jean de la Mare, who made the insolent bet with the Norman, had not yet achieved mature middle age.

The dancing petites filles at S. Martin must have given less offence than five men who were suspended from the cene there

on 24 June 1632. Again we may infer that they were youths. They had gone "by night at an undue hour and thrown stones at Thomasse Guignon's door, until she was made to rise from her bed, and then afterwards returned to throw stones against the said door and commit other insolences". This appears to be similar to the night-time "assaults, excesses and debauchery" at which the Royal Court ordinance of the following year was directed.<sup>189</sup> The stone throwing may even have been designed, as in late medieval France, to ruin Thomasse's reputation, possibly leading to a more serious sexual assault.<sup>190</sup>

Even so, some young women clearly were able to assert themselves socially, as indicated by references to girls being involved in the organisation of vueilles and the thefts connected with them. An order of S. Martin's consistory to one Marie Pillon on 20 September 1646 provides further evidence. She was summoned for "leaving her mother's to live on her own and to hold scandalous night time parties" (s'estoit retirée davec sa mere pour demerer a part soy, et entretenir des esbats de nuit scandaleux). The consistory peremptorily ordered her return to the maternal home. The Pillons were perhaps a bad lot: Jean Pillon and three others were deprived of the cene in the following year for "certain batteries and rowdiness" committed by them in the town on a Sunday.

The Commissioners of 1563 had found the island "full of yowthe".<sup>191</sup> The control of young men and women remained a preoccupation of the authorities. Their activities, and the example, collaboration and encouragement which part of the older generation appears to have offered them, represented a strong cultural alternative to the attractions of godliness and sober adult conformity. The frequent repetition of laws against dancing and yueilles suggests that the Church and the Court were unable to suppress these manifestations of a vigorous popular culture.

#### (ii) Banqueting

Enthusiasm for boisterous assemblies was not confined to the island's youth, and the authorities condemned all ages and classes for their excessive enjoyment of them.

Banquets given on Sundays to celebrate births, weddings and other family occasions attracted the greatest censure. The Court's order of 1577 prohibiting banqueting and limiting the receiving of guests on Sundays has already been referred to.<sup>192</sup> In 1599 the synod had to condemn the abus committed on Sundays after baptisms, marriages and the churching of women (relevailles).<sup>193</sup> The next year the Colloquy still complained that people held banquets on the Sabbath, especially to mark



women's confinements (accouchements des femmes). The Colloquy alleged this caused people to miss preaching, particularly in the evenings.<sup>194</sup>

In 1614 the Colloquy again condemned the local addiction to festins et banquets publics. This was so strong that the Church's own officers, "whether minister, elder or deacon", had to be warned not to attend the "get-togethers [reneuchons] which are called dinners, or suppers, at a child's baptism, confinement suppers [souppers de couche] etc.". The Colloquy went on to request the Royal Court to ban banqueting on the Sabbath.<sup>195</sup>

The following year the Court acted on the Colloquy's protest, with an ordinance which suggests that its complaints were well founded.<sup>196</sup> The Court declared that great abuses and debaucheries were committed on the Sabbath at banquets held in connection with weddings, confinements and similar. At some celebrations it was customary for friends and neighbours to assemble with food for their dinners and suppers at the house in which the celebration was taking place. God's goods were abused, it stated, through excess in gormandizing and drunkenness, both at houses and in taverns. The celebrations of women's confinements and lyings-in (couches et gesines) had led to excessive expense, especially to the lowest and least

stable (moins aisée) sorts of people. It was alleged that several families had been ruined and others put to public cost, which is to say driven to living on charity. These facts, the desirability of a sensible frugality, and the hardness of the times, caused the Court to prohibit everyone except taverners from buying up drink in bulk and selling or distributing it piecemeal to guests on such occasions, on pain of a ten livres tournois fine.<sup>197</sup>

Having dealt with the drink which householders apparently were under a social obligation to supply to all-comers, the ordinance turned to the food which the guests brought along, forbidding anyone from carrying uncooked meats to accouchées to prepare for dinner and supper. In the past, it stated, this had caused uninvited crowds to assemble in other peoples' houses, "to the mobbing and trouble" of the inhabitants.<sup>198</sup>

The Court limited parties in future to the invited immediate relations of the family and the godfather of the new-born child. The ban on celebrations on the Sabbath on pain of 100 sous was repeated. Finally, on threat of the same fine, by this ordinance of 1615 the Court warned against feasts held to celebrate any wedding, baptism, confinement, churching of women (relevailles) or similar things on Sundays.<sup>199</sup> Baptisms were to some degree excepted, and a sober dinner with a few friends on the

day of baptism, and supper in the evening with a few more, were allowed on condition that neither the private or public exercice de piété by the family on that day was prejudiced.

Despite the severity of these laws, and the displeasure which both the Colloquy and Court displayed, neither the Royal Court<sup>200</sup> nor surviving consistory records show any prosecutions specifically for banqueting on the Sabbath or similar excesses. This does not mean that the laws were effective, indeed the need to repeat them suggests otherwise. It is however possible that the community adjusted the customary times for the celebrations of weddings and suchlike from the Sabbath to other days. That some continued is shown in a complaint made on 7 June 1629 by the cousteur (sidesman) of S. Martin. His protest is illustrative of several aspects of church life, and worth reciting in full:

Upon the complaint and remonstrance which Guillaume Jehan, cousteur, has made to the consistory, that he is badly waged by several with regard to the pains and care which he is obliged to take regarding marriages, such as presenting the notices of annonces to the pasteur for publication on three Sundays; and then to keep them to re-present them upon the day of the marriage; and then to open the temple, ring the bells and attend to the matters

in his charge; being in this manner prevented from being able to go and earn his day's wages [gagner sa Journée]: the said cousteur requires that some order be taken for his salary.

The company accepts his plea and judges that it is unfair that he should take such trouble in vain, [therefore] he is permitted, dispensated of, and discharged from the aforesaid duties in regard to those who are so ungrateful as not to invite him to their banquet on the said [wedding] day, or to pay him five sous tournois for his day's wages.

The situation apparently did not improve and on 19 October 1633 Jehan was called before the consistory for having taken flight from the district and his duties. He was relieved of office and suspended from the cene for a quarter. His case shows that at weddings at least, banqueting remained characteristic of the population, and the consistory of S. Martin accepted this, whatever the Colloquy thought and the Court threatened.

(iii) misbehaviour in church and churchyard

If enthusiastic fellowship after certain religious services was frowned on, violence and discord, particularly at or near churches,



was condemned by the authorities still more severely. This was not because such places were holier than others (an idea at variance with Calvinist dogma), but for two other main reasons. First, the community of the parish was supposed to worship together in a spirit of amity, or at least not one of actual hostility, especially on the days of the cene and strictly observed fasts. Second, the Calvinist Church, with its emphasis on the congregation's participation in services, the reading of the Bible and the centrality of the sermon, disapproved of actions which distracted from these things, or otherwise assailed the dignity of the minister or Church officers.

This latter concern has already been alluded to in respect of the control of markets and the playing of games in and around churchyards. It is also apparent in measures taken to control interruptions of church services by children. Dr Margaret Spufford has explained that in England "no satisfactory compromise between obligatory attendance at church ... and the problem of what to do with young children, seems to have been worked out in the sixteenth century".<sup>201</sup> In Guernsey, the authorities did not trouble to seek a compromise: they simply barred little children from the services, presumably confining their early religious education to the parental home.

The synod of 1567 complained about the interruption of preaching by children and other gens qui se comportent irreverement.<sup>202</sup> The Court acted on this by ordering that "those ... who take children under the age of four years to church during preaching and common prayers" should be fined a gros sterling, or spend three hours in the cage if they did not have these modest means.<sup>203</sup> The 1576 Discipline went on to provide that scholars and children should, like the women, sit apart from the men of the congregation, and "that if there are little children who cry out, they shall be removed [retirera à part], so that no person shall be prevented from paying attention to hearing the reading and the preaching of God's word, the singing of psalms, public prayers, [or] the administration of the sacraments ...".<sup>204</sup> In 1593 the Court repeated its ban on taking little children into churches during preaching.<sup>205</sup>

Of greater concern, and more difficult to resolve, was the problem of adults conducting themselves irreverently. As just mentioned, the order of the Royal Court of 1567 made at the behest of the synod threatened to punish those who behaved with irreverence during sermons and prayers. Some people may have expressed Catholic sentiments, but the law was probably concerned with more prosaic interruptions and misbehaviour, for example over seating rights.

Disputes over pews and rights to sit in particular ones were common in England. This was largely for the reason that since the congregation was seated according to social hierarchy, each member warily protected "that which hee conceives is his right and superiority in the seats in Church".<sup>206</sup> This sometimes led to violent or noisy altercations. We find the same in Guernsey, although in the surviving consistory records only two clear cases occur.

At S. Martin, Collas Mauger and his wife were called before the consistory on 25 March 1632 after the wife had refused to let her sister in law sit in the same pew. She was suspended from the cene for her uncharitable attitude. In 1647 James Gouvan summoned Jean Thommes for having before the sermon demanded that Gouvan should quit the pew where he was seated. It appears that Thommes was justified in doing so, since the consistory decided the pew in question was reserved for the parish douzaine.<sup>207</sup> On Gouvan's retort, which seems to say that he would rather cut his head off than obey, the consistory suspended him for a quarter and Gouvan threatened to appeal to the Colloquy. On 4 April the following year he still refused to be reconciled, answering back his accusers with calumnious words.

In the Royal Court's Crime records 1611–35 there are two more

cases which may well have had similar causes. In 1617 it was alleged by the Crown and James Preudhome that Pierre la Pere junior, "on Sunday, openly in the temple of the Castel parish during the exersice divin ... [had] taken Richard le Feyvre's hat and thrown it with violence, making effort thereupon to enter and seize the pew of the said le Feyvre, having then unhatted [descroiffe] the wife of the said Preudhome".<sup>208</sup> For these antics la Pere was sentenced to twice twenty-four hours en basse fosse and then to be kept in the Castle until the following Sunday, when he was ordered to make reconnoissance publique in the church.

A similar dispute lay behind a Royal Court case in 1621, when Elizée Henry was sent to the basse fosse and fined sixty sous for having surprised Pierre Falaize, the constable of the parish of la Forêt. Henry was accused of "having ... during preaching on the last fast day entered the church of S. André and sat himself on the lap of the said Falaize, who was seated as constable to keep order in case any accident befell during the exercise of the fast".<sup>209</sup> It is likely that some arguments referred to in the surviving consistory minutes and the Royal Court registers had also arisen over disputes about pews.

The exchange of insults and even blows in and around churches



over other issues were by no means uncommon. The location of these quarrels is not as surprising as at first sight. The announcement of suspensions from the cene and the performance of ritual repentance could easily breed friction. Church services also brought together parishioners already in dispute who might otherwise have avoided each other. Besides this the requirement that the cene should be received only when "in charity" with one's fellows could lead to angry confrontations, both within the congregation and between parishioners and ministers.<sup>210</sup>

It would be tedious to enumerate all the slanders and assaults committed in the vicinity of churches which came before the Royal Court. Some examples will show the pattern.<sup>211</sup> In 1614 for instance, there was an action brought against Nicollas de Jersey for assaulting a man in the cemetery at Ste Marie du Castel, grabbing his nose and striking him.<sup>212</sup> In 1621 Jeremie Blanlo was investigated on a charge that one Sunday auuant le presche he had assaulted Jean Moulin with fists and stones and cut his mare's tether.<sup>213</sup> In 1623 Etienne Moulin was sent to the stocks and ordered to pay damages and costs for striking a man on leaving church after preaching on the day of the cene.<sup>214</sup> In 1625 the Court remitted a case to S. Pierre Port consistory after hearing that two women had fought each other

until blood flowed and they lost their hats (descoiffées l'une a l'autre) on leaving the celebration of a fast.<sup>215</sup>

There were other assaults within the churches themselves. In 1617 Collas Breton was ordered to make a recoissance at S. Pierre Port for striking a servant during the sermon there.<sup>216</sup> Similarly in 1618 Etienne Moulin – who was to be sent to the stocks in 1623, as just mentioned – was fined sixty sous and ordered to pay a like sum in damages after hitting a woman during the celebration of the cene.<sup>217</sup> When Jean Durant's wife attacked Pierre Sohier's one Sunday in 1634 in the church of S. Michel du Valle each couple was fined eighteen sous.<sup>218</sup> In the same year a similar assault by one man upon another at the Castel Church on a Sunday led to both being fined no less than thirty livres tournois.<sup>219</sup>

Some disputes may reflect differing religious opinions. On 6 April 1633 Jean Hallouvris complained that Jean du Port had beaten him and grabbed him by the throat, "Wednesday last [3 April] in the Church of S. Sampson as he rang the bells for the Royal rejoicing [de resiouissance Royale] by the command and order of the constables of the said parish". Each was fined sixty sous for their "excesses in the temple on the day of the King's proclamation". This probably refers to the anniversary of Charles

I being proclaimed king in Guernsey, after his accession on 27 March 1625.<sup>220</sup>

Specifically anti-Calvinist sentiments seem to account for other serious offences. Saravia's letter to Cecil of 1566 says that outside S. Pierre Port Protestant preachers suffered interruptions and abuse. He even alleged that the people filled pulpits with ordure and excrement (stercoribus et foetore implent suggestum).<sup>221</sup> To judge by the later events this may well have been true.

On 4 January 1576 the Royal Court sentenced Robert Tourgys for "having put decayed matter and ordure in the pulpit of the temple of the Forest [parish]" (avoir mys de l'ynffection et ordure en la chaire du temple de la fourest). He was condemned to the basse fosse, and for three Saturdays thereafter put es collyeres from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. after having the first week received twelve lashes jusq a effusion de sang.<sup>222</sup>

A like act of gross irreverence was recorded by the Royal Court on 24 September 1600, when it sentenced the brothers Jean and Jacques Lenfestey of S. Pierre du Bois to be whipped a effusion de sang, for

their bad lives and behaviour, and notably for having entered the temple of the parish of S. Sauveur, and there to have maliciously befouled and filthied in [sic] the pulpit ... (pour leur mauvaise versacion et mescomport. et notiomment davoir entré dedans le temple de la paroesse de saint sauveur et la auoir maliceusement faict des ordures et vilenies dans la chair ...)<sup>223</sup>

One does not have to be fashionably inspired by the insights of semiologists to conclude that by these cases of polluting the pulpit – the vehicle for the delivery of the word, a literal and ideological focus of Reformed worship – the offenders were expressing a specific distaste for Protestantism. This indeed appears to have been recognised by the Court. The former judgement stresses that the pulpit was a special location, "there, where the minister has to go to preach God's word" (la ou la ministre debyoet aller annoncer la parole de dieu).<sup>224</sup>

The Court also punished several examples of rudeness to clergy as they celebrated services. Some people reacted to Church censures by abusing ministers. Thus in 1615 Thomas le Page of S. Martin answered back the minister Simon Hearne as he stood in the pulpit announcing le Page's suspension from the cene. He was sent to the basse fosse for the customary



term.<sup>225</sup> Le Page – who was the complainant who had Hearne excommunicated by the Court of Arches <sup>226</sup> – probably felt satisfied when the minister was banished from the island in 1623 for getting his chambermaid pregnant.<sup>227</sup>

Other ministers were subject to less specific abuse and raillery.<sup>228</sup> In 1619 Collas Simon was accused of causing a tumulte et commis une insolence in the Castel parish church, as the minister celebrated the cene. He was sent en basse fosse for two periods of twenty-four hours.<sup>229</sup> The same punishment was handed down to Jaspard Ollivier in the same year when he committed an insolence during preaching at the Forêt parish church.<sup>230</sup> A decade later Pierre Painsec, the minister of the Castel, understandably actioned Pierre Preaux for calling him in his church a "knave, seditious mutineer, quarrelsome, mountebank and wretch" (marau sediteux muttin querelleux battleur et coquin).<sup>231</sup> The outcome is unrecorded.

A final example from this survey of the Crime records 1611–35 suggests that those who had been enjoined to make reconoissances before the congregation sometimes allowed resentment to overtake contrition. This was the case in 1617 when one Pierre Mahi lost his temper and rebuked (rebecque) the unfortunate Painsec at Wednesday preaching whilst making a

reconnaissance for having slept with his wife before their marriage. Reneging on his apology was seen as a very serious offence: Mahi was sentenced to no fewer than eight days en basse fosse.<sup>232</sup>

People more readily abused the consistories in which the ministers sat, though not in a sacramental capacity. In 1618 Thomas Breton admitted to the consistory of S. André that he had called one of its elders a "pharisee, hypocrite, whitened wall, and like an old wall", and a thief. The matter was sent to the Royal Court, and Breton suspended from the cene in the meantime.<sup>233</sup> The Court remitted it to the King's officers, but the outcome is unrecorded.<sup>234</sup>

Similarly Guillaume le Lacheur, when called before the same consistory in 1646 "did nothing but mock the company, and said that the pastor did well to absent himself" on that occasion. Le Lacheur was of course an habitual offender. In 1655 he attacked an elder who came to enquire why he had been absent from the previous cene. As a consequence he was suspended from the next as well, not being bien préparé as the record laconically puts it.<sup>235</sup>

Others summoned before consistories simply did not appear and

were suspended from the cene for their temerity. Marguerite le Sauvage was charged before the consistory of S. Martin in December 1640 with violence against her stepson and arrogance towards the parish constables and elders. Later in the month she was called upon to make amends to enable the lifting of the sansure. To this she "responded arrogantly that she would not do so and would not go" to apologise, "a true contempt" the scribe writes, "and scorn of the ordinance established by God about his Church". She was publicly deprived of the cene.

The S. Martin consistory heard a similar case on 25 March 1649 when Jean le Retle [Retillay] junior, who was living apart from his wife, failed to appear, but made it known that he would rather go through fire than be reconciled with her. He too was publicly deprived. Although he appealed to the Colloquy, his lack of regard for the consistory is apparent.

A similar lack of concern to be "in charity" and able to communicate is suggested in another affair at S. Martin heard on 21 June 1635. This started with the suspension of Jean Rabay for getting his chambermaid Elizabeth Bot pregnant and then turning her out of his house. His suspension was announced and the matter remitted to the Royal Court. At this, Rabay's mother suggested that in her opinion he should never again

bother to take the cene from the minister (que s'il la croyoit qu'il ne feroit jamais la cene au dyt ministre [Samuel de la Place]).

### Adultery, pre-marital incontinence, and lewd behaviour

The civil and ecclesiastical authorities were both concerned with morality and sexual regulation, although, again, differences in approach and execution emerge. Legislation and prosecutions were common in the areas of adultery and fornication, including pre-marital sex and co-habitation.

Some definitions are necessary. Adultery and the crime called paillardize might at first appear to be the same moral offence. French translations of the Ten Commandments, including that in Philippe's 1553 translation of the Prayer Book made for the Channel Islands,<sup>236</sup> and Clement Marot's rhyming version (which was known in Guernsey) indeed use the word paillardise. Marot translates the Seventh Commandment as mets toute paillardise au loin.<sup>237</sup>

But this, in local terms at least, is misleading. Paillardize, which shares an origin with the English palliasse, derives from the word for a straw mattress of the coarsest sort, and the crime of that title is best understood as "lewdness" or "bawdy behaviour".



Guernsey's authorities at first prosecuted people under this heading for illicit sex not involving adultery, i.e. simple fornication. Later though the word came to be associated with the bearing and fathering of illegitimate children, and the offence indistinguishable from bastardy.

A third category of sexual misdemeanour was committed by betrothed couples sleeping together before marriage. Although some pregnancies inevitably resulted, this "carnal abuse" as the records call it, was punished differently and not as harshly as the other fornication, paillardize.

(i) Paillardize and adultery

a. control by the Court:

The Royal Court treated adultery and paillardize in the same legislation, threatening harsh punishments for both crimes. In 1567 it ordered that adulterers should be imprisoned for three weeks and displayed in the cage from 9 a.m. until evening on each Saturday of the sentence. On the final occasion they were to be whipped in the market place (outside S. Pierre Port Church) until blood flowed. Paillards were to be accorded the same punishment, save for the whipping.<sup>238</sup> Whilst these orders

were made on the synod's advice, the provision of the cage exceeded the Church's recommendations.<sup>239</sup>

In 1570 this law was amended by abolishing the whipping for adultery and replacing it with three weeks on bread and water in the parfonde fosse. The law was repeated the following year, save for mention of the cage.<sup>240</sup> That humiliation reappears in a law of 1572, which repeated the terms of the 1567 order, stated that male adulterers were to receive twenty-four lashes, and introduced the new provision that male paillards were to be whipped, with twelve lashes. Women adulterers, it says, "being convicted, shall be put in the cage until the Saturday following" (perhaps this means for a week after the Saturday Court session), and then given twenty-four lashes, followed by two Saturdays in the cage from nine a.m. until evening. Female paillardes were accorded the same, except they were to receive half the number of lashes.<sup>241</sup> In 1576 the Court provided that the law was to stay in force, and the 1611 Code stated that the laws concerning adultery and paillardize were to continue.<sup>242</sup>

Records of convictions survive over a long period, and therefore, unlike other themes treated in this chapter, lend themselves to statistical presentation. Statistics drawn from surviving Royal Court convictions for paillardize and adultery 1565–1635 are

given in Appendix Four. If these are not complete (although they may nearly be so), they nonetheless provide a large sample.

Punishments for adultery were rare. There also seems to have been a reluctance to sentence those committing either offence with the full rigour the laws demanded. One Court session on 13 March 1572 did in fact sentence two men to three weeks a la profonde fosse for adultery, and a third to the same period in prison pour avoir paillarde. Their partners and a fourth woman were to be put in the cage for three Saturdays for their paillardizes, and another woman was to be put in collieres at the same time for the like offence and adultery.<sup>243</sup>

Whilst this probably accords with the Court's vague ordinance of the previous year, other punishments were made without close reference to the laws. In 1576 for example three unmarried women were each given twenty-four lashes for adultery and the married partner of one of them the same. He was also sent to prison for a fortnight (not the prescribed three weeks) and the cage on the Saturdays of his sentence.<sup>244</sup> In 1589 the Court went so far as to effect a reconciliation between Michel le Petevin and his wife after she actioned him for ill treatment and adultery with their chambermaid. In spite of his guilt the Court merely ordered him to return to the matrimonial home, its concerns with

social stability apparently taking precedence over Calvinist zeal.<sup>245</sup> In 1611 Jean Jehan and Susanne Sauvary the wife of Pierre Pouppyn, were each given twenty-four lashes without imprisonment for their paillardize and adultery together.<sup>246</sup>

Overwhelmingly though the punishment for the rare cases of adultery and much more frequent cases of paillardize was a straightforward whipping without recourse to the cage or dungeon. Paillardes were usually given twelve lashes, sometimes more in the case of reoffenders. They were usually banished if they were foreign.<sup>247</sup> None of these sentences therefore reflected the letter of the legislation.

The Appendix also shows that paillardize was overwhelmingly a woman's crime – or rather that women were the Court's victims. The period 1565–1635 shows sixteen convictions of men to eighty-seven of women. Several of the prosecutions are of people originating outside the island.

It is also to be noted that there are only three convictions for adultery after c. 1580–84; that there is a paucity of paillardize convictions in the decade after c. 1575; and there was a shift in the definition of that crime from fornication to bastardy. These features of the Court's policy towards sexual regulation will be



accounted for shortly.

b. censures by the Church.

Before that, the underlying attitudes of the Church must be examined.

Calvin's meditations on the Seventh Commandment state that to God "any other union apart from marriage is accursed in his sight"<sup>248</sup> and Guernsey's Colloquy repeatedly required the Royal Court to punish fornication. In April 1586 the Colloquy admitted that whilst ministers certainly should reprimand les paillardises and other vices, punishment was a matter for the civil power.<sup>249</sup> In September of that year it noted that the Bailiff had responded to its request to prosecute the multiplicity of paillardises in the island.<sup>250</sup> However, by October 1587 the Colloquy had again protested to the Court that offenders went unpunished.<sup>251</sup> It requested especially the punishment of married men who abused their female servants, and those who kept servants too fondly after the decease of their wives. In 1588 the Colloquy yet again asked the Court to punish paillards and instructed its elders to seek out paillardises.<sup>252</sup> These remonstrances seem to have had some effect, since the later 1580s saw a revival in prosecutions, which had fallen-off after the assiduity of the 1560s

and early 70s.

The Church was concerned then, by advertissements reprehensions et censures to add its own condemnations to the Court's punishment. These no doubt commenced with a hearing in the parish consistory, although there is only one surviving case of a consistory extending censures for paillardize.<sup>253</sup> This arose at S. Martin in 1650 when Laurence Toumes was ordered to repent her error.<sup>254</sup>

Reprimands by the local minister may have been commonplace. One such scene was vividly portrayed by the Puritan biographer John Quick. Reporting how he was present when a case of paillardize was publicly admonished by the minister Daniel Fautrart, Quick wrote:

... I remember I was then present in the year 1649 at Saint Peter's [Port] Church, when a woman, tendered her base child ... to be baptized. With how much seriousness and majesty did he [Fautrart] rebuke her! How clear and convincing, how keen and cutting were his reproofs? How odious and hainous did he represent the sin of uncleanness? What an horror did He strike into his hearers hearts for the profanation of baptisme, and the

violation of God's Covenant by such filthy crimes? He told them what a debaseing sin this was, and how dishonorable to our bodys, in polluteing those Sacred Temples of the holy Ghost, and turning men and women into beasts. He thundered out the Judgments of God against theis foul sinners and shewed that without Repentance for their uncleanness (and it did exceedingly obstruct Repentence and incapacitated Sinners much more than other Sins from Repentance by hardning and stupifying ther hearts, and searing their consciences with its hot and hellish flames,) it would plunge the Souls and bodys of theise unclean Sinners into the lake of fire and brimstone forever. I remember this discourse of his wrought most admirably and effectivally not onely upon the poor Penitent, who was even drowned in Tears, and breaking her heart with her sighs and groans but upon the whole Auditory. And although this mournfull Sinner professed publickly before that numerous Congregation her unfeigned Sorrow, shame and contrition of Soul for her Great and Scandalous Sin, and was confortd by monsieur Fautrat, who applyed unto Her the promises of the Gospell, the loue, grace, bowells, and mercys of God, the blood, death and Intercession of our Lord Jesus for her Reviueing and comfort, yet He did theise two things

particularly.

first he made her solemnly to condemn herself for her sin and to renounce that and all other sins, and Sincerely to renew her Covenant with God, and to engage with deep humility, Seriousness and devotion to become a new Creature, and to lead a most strict and exemplary Life the remainder of her days.

Secondly, And lest that nothing but shame and the reproach of the world should have extorted from her these Visible and Sensible Acts of Repentance, though He did hope otherwise, there fore He demanded Suretys of unspotted Reputation and eminent for Godlyness to take upon them the care and religious Education of this poor Infant. And I remember He himself called out two graue Christians, who were I think Elders of the Church to undertake this Task; who at his request did it, and the child was baptized, and the church very much edified

...<sup>255</sup>

Although the Church left the physical punishment of crimes like this to the civil power, clearly spiritual censures could be grievous too.



(ii) Marriage and pre-marital incontinence

The action of betrothal followed by sexual consummation made for a valid (if irregular) marriage according to pre-Reformation law. Both Protestant and Catholic reformers sought to tighten controls.<sup>256</sup>

Acting in this spirit, Guernsey's Royal Court prohibited young people from contracting marriages without the advice of their parents. After the synod of 1567 it ordered that those who married without the consent of their fathers and mothers should be fined 100 sous and the marriage nullified.<sup>257</sup> This law was repeated in 1576, though the fine was lowered to sixty sous.<sup>258</sup> In the following year a like fine was laid down in an order which provided that "fiancés shall not live with their fiancée [sic] before the marriage is solemnized in church".<sup>259</sup> In 1572 the Court had extended control in the same area by requiring that betrothals (fyansalles) should be made in the presence of parish ministers, and that at least six months should expire before the marriage was celebrated.<sup>260</sup> This ordinance was also repeated in 1576.<sup>261</sup>

Occasional prosecutions occur in consistory and Colloquy records for "advancing" marriages – usually, no doubt, because of

pregnancy. We find Collas Mauger and his wife suspended from the cene at S. Martin in 1628, for example, and the offence is frequently mentioned in Colloquy minutes.<sup>262</sup>

The Discipline provided for humiliation if the offence was public knowledge:

Those which have companied together before they are married, shall not be married before they have made confession of their fault; and if the fault be openly knowne, they shall doe it before all the Church: And if it be lesse knowne, the Consistory shall give order for it.<sup>263</sup>

If this ecclesiastical censure was more humane than some, the Royal Court's attitude ostensibly was fiercer. On 4 October 1602 it passed a very harsh ordinance:

On [the subject of] the incontinence which is daily committed by many young men who during their fiancailles and before their marriages get their fiancées pregnant, to the great dishonour of the glory of God, scandal of the Church, and shame of the parties, it is ordered by the Court that all persons who contract a marriage [and who] before the said marriage get their fiancées and pretended

wives pregnant shall be kept prisoner at the Castle en basse fosse for the space of fifteen days on bread and water.<sup>264</sup>

In the 1611 Code the matter was dealt with more reasonably, although at the time the definition of the crime was broadened from bridal pregnancy to pre-marital fornication. The law now stated that "men who incontinently abuse their fiancées by carnal intercourse (campagnie charnelle) shall be put en basse fosse on bread and water for the space of twice twenty-four hours".<sup>265</sup>

Whilst no prosecutions under the harsh law of 1602 are known, in the period 1611–35 twenty-five men were punished for the "carnal abuse" offence, whether their fiancées were pregnant or not (although unaccountably there are no convictions recorded in the period 1629–35). The women were not punished, by the Court at least. All the convictions save one resulted in sentences to periods in the basse fosse: usually to the statutory twice twenty-four hours, although in three cases the sentence was halved.<sup>266</sup>

(iii) conclusion: sexual regulation

What then were the characteristics of the authorities' efforts to

regulate sexual behaviour, and how may they be accounted for?

(a) women

There was in all areas of sexual regulation a strong – and traditional – emphasis on controlling women. This does not, therefore, match Professor Monter's conclusion that sexual regulation in Calvinist Geneva applied in equal measure to both sexes.<sup>267</sup>

The long-standing tradition of disciplining women who were not attached to particular men underlay paillardize prosecutions.<sup>268</sup>

In bearing bastards they were behaving outside the norms of society, which demanded obedience to a strict social order. At a more material level, the ferocity with which paillardes were punished reflects the institutional concern not to have too many women or children dependent on charity.<sup>269</sup> The concern with order and a reluctance to increase numbers seeking charity were common to the Royal Court and Church alike.

The Church – as the vehicle which operated the system of charity as well as a moral arbiter – appears to have been particularly concerned with punishing paillardes. This is illustrated by Quick's recollections and the Colloquy's repeated demands to the



Court to act against offenders. The paucity of prosecutions c. 1580–84 coincides with a particularly weak period in the local Church's history, when ministers were in short supply. After 1585, when incoming clergy revitalised the Church, pressure on the secular power was increased and prosecutions recovered. Before that time the Court may have regarded the severe censures of the Church, in so far as these operated, sufficient to punish offenders.

(b) foreigners

The statistics of paillardize prosecutions also reveal a bias towards punishing foreigners. This again reflects a traditional concern, described in Chapter One, to control and make examples of a group which in many respects stood outside the local community, and therefore was perceived as a threat to it.

(c) adultery

Adultery was punished less frequently than paillardize, and in different ways. The fewer prosecutions may reflect the fact that the crime was less easily detected and proven. Involvement in adultery was also, perhaps, more common to the settled community than to traditionally controlled groups like foreigners

and single women.

For these reasons, and perhaps the fact that adulterous liaisons were less likely to result in demands on charity, and in spite of the Church's repeated complaints, the Court chose not to prosecute adultery as frequently as paillardize.<sup>270</sup>

There is also a specific reason which might explain why adultery prosecutions almost disappear after the 1580s. On 31 January 1589 the Privy Council wrote to the Royal Court concerning an appeal which had been made to the Council by one Matthew le Brock of Guernsey. The Court had sentenced him to corporal punishment, but he asked the Council to over-rule this. It did so, in view of his age and remorse, and the fact that he had made a reconnaissance for his fault.<sup>271</sup>

It is possible, therefore, that after the date of le Brock's appeal, the Royal Court was wary of encouraging the Privy Council to look too closely at the island's moral legislation, which differed from that of England, where the offence was a spiritual one. Prosecutions for adultery may have been tactically suspended with this in mind.

(d) youths

The punishment of young men for pre-marital incontinence has, like the punishment of foreigners and single women, a similar context of concern for order and a desire to make examples. In cases where couples were already betrothed, it was the man who was punished and not his fiancée. This again indicates the Court's concern with social discipline. The offending girls had not shown aberrant individualism like those guilty of paillardize. Rather, in becoming betrothed, they had submitted themselves to the authority of men. The offence against order – by irresponsibly "advancing" marriage – thus was committed by the young men rather than women. Their offence was to challenge social conventions and the authority of the Church, Court and their seniors, an authority which was both customary and enshrined in legislation.<sup>272</sup>

In all areas of sexual regulation the Court acted to make examples of people who behaved in ways contrary to traditional ideas of the correct social order.<sup>273</sup> A concern to limit demands on charity was also present, and is especially reflected in the punishment of paillardes. Youths, foreigners, and ill-disciplined women were punished for sexual misdemeanour. Not only were they seen as deserving punishment, but examples could be made of individuals from those groups without upsetting the gens de bien.

The Church shared these attitudes. In several respects though, as in so many other areas, the Court did not act as strictly as was demanded of it. For example Cartwright, the most eminent local minister, recognised that bastards "become hurtful members of the commonwealth",<sup>274</sup> and indeed he favoured the death penalty for adultery.<sup>275</sup> This was the sentence for the crime in New England and Scotland. To those of Cartwright's opinion, the Guernsey Court must often have seemed criminally negligent. Its concerns were practical, not ethical. Whilst passing the legislation the Church required it to pass, the Court again often neglected to enforce it.

In several areas of moral regulation the Church largely had to rely on its own powers of coercion, or if these failed, its censures. These did not extend to fines or corporal punishment. The Church set the agenda of sexual regulation, but how and to what extent that agenda was acted upon depended on the Court.

### Conclusion: the enforcement of discipline

#### (i) the concerns of the Court

The Royal Court made many laws of moral and religious character. This was frequently done at the request of the



Colloquy and synods, which were particularly concerned to attach pecuniary and corporal punishments to particular offences. The Church thus insisted that the magistrate should perform his allotted role in the godly polity, "to watch upon the body and goods of men, that above all he may procure that the honour and service of God may be maintained".<sup>276</sup>

The Court, however, adopted a very selective policy when it came to enforcement. In spite of the pious rhetoric of its ordinances, little attempt was made to prosecute offenders in several areas. Festivals and dancing and singing, banqueting, and associated popular superstitions, whilst condemned by the Court, escaped its punishment. It similarly left the enforcement of attendance at Church services to the consistories, only acting against absentees when the offence was aggravated through misbehaviour at service times. Likewise the playing of illegal games, abusing church officers, carousing in alehouses and suchlike were not usually punished by the magistrate.

There was a like reluctance to prosecute those who laboured on the Sabbath. In spite of the Colloquy's repeated requests, the Court would not ban all work on Sundays. Indeed it persisted in publishing its own notices and – with the Governor – allowing musters to be held on that day.

Sexual regulation was more strictly enforced, but again on the Court's terms. Paillardize, whilst harshly punished, was still not punished as fiercely as the Church or the Court's own legislation demanded. Adultery, it appears, was punished only rarely, to the Church's consternation.

So, despite the impression given by the laws which the Church badgered the Court into passing, there was frequently little attempt by the magistrate to enforce blanket conformity to the Church's policies. Most religious and moral offences – whilst serious in the sight of the Church – hardly represented a serious threat to public order. The Court's approach was pragmatic, its concerns secular. It was principally interested in maintaining order, and punishing and making examples of offenders who threatened ideals of order.

(ii) a new moral order?

Whether the ambitions of the Church could have been satisfied is in any case open to question. The community remained flesh and blood. The repetition of laws, and the repeated attempts made at finding new solutions to old problems, indicate that the problems did not go away. Throughout the period reviewed here, members of the community persisted in the same and

similar attitudes and activities which the Church continually condemned on religious and moral grounds.

The records of the consistories, Colloquy and Royal Court give little impression of an increasingly godly society.<sup>277</sup> In the seventeenth century the protests of the Church against superstition, absenteeism from services, failure to observe the Sabbath, lax morals, etc., were as loud as ever. This is particularly exemplified in connection with attendance at services and the resilience of popular culture.

a. Church attendance

It became clear early on that not everyone, at all times, could be present at all Church services. By 1589, the compromise was offered that representatives of households should attend, and then that not all services should be attended. The problem identified in 1593 concerning women attending churching services in the place of others who had died in childbed suggests that ministers were unfamiliar with the faces of all their parishioners, although admittedly the women in question were probably veiled.

It thus appears some people attended church only rarely, attaching importance to rites of passage like this and, to a



degree, the quarterly cene. Children, and necessarily those looking after them, were in any case excluded from services. Other people even continued to trade, bury their dead and play in churchyards when they should have been in church. Until 1627 millers were free to work their mills on the Sabbath, and the Court never went so far as to stop militia musters on that day. Punishments were rare and slight: absenteeism from the cene or fasts was punished by the Royal Court only when aggravated. No women are known to have been prosecuted in the secular court for absenteeism in the period 1611–35. Church censures themselves often appear to have been ineffective. Attendances at services, on Sundays and otherwise, thus never matched the Church's ambitions.

On at least one occasion – in 1615 – the Colloquy abandoned the idea of holding a fast because the generality appeared to be so ill-disposed to the idea (le peuple semble estre assez mal disposé pour la celebration d'iceluy jeusne).<sup>278</sup> Young people especially seem to have been reluctant to attend services as often as they should. In 1633 the youths of the island were said on Sundays to be "entirely incapable of attending the exercices de piété" due to Saturday-night excesses.<sup>279</sup> Just as Professor Underdown has found in Puritan Dorchester, there was in Guernsey "a lively youth culture ... marked by much frivolous



jesting, a good deal of drinking, and a keen adolescent interest in sex".<sup>280</sup> The situation is echoed in Sir Keith Thomas' assertion that in the early modern era "the full Christian life was not for adolescents".<sup>281</sup>

There was no compulsion, other than conscience, and often ineffective ecclesiastical censure, to impel others to attend services. These factors, and perhaps the difficulties of congregations in understanding Calvinist theology itself,<sup>282</sup> must have meant that on many occasions ministers were left "preaching to the converted".

#### b. the vitality of popular culture

Absenteeism from Church services may therefore often have been a consequence of indifference and inadequate punishments. A variety of other social activities actually rivalled the official moral culture which the Church, with the lacklustre support of the Court, sought to engender. These activities showed no sign of slackening over the years. As Professor Parker notes in his recent overview of success and failure in the Reformation, "in early modern times such things were too deeply engrained to be extirpated".<sup>283</sup>

The continuing addiction to the yueille, in particular, symptomises the vitality of a popular culture condemned by the Church. The yueille shared a name (ie. "wake, or "vigil") with a traditional Catholic feature, and some of the social characteristics of the confraternity. It also preserved alternative moralities ("debaucheries"), appealing especially to the young of both sexes.

The secular laws of 1602, 1631, 1633 and 1637 aimed at suppressing the assemblies appear to have been wholly ineffective. When Charles Trumbull visited Guernsey in 1677, he still found yueilles kept where women met to knit and sing,<sup>284</sup> and with

a further design, and that is either to meet with or draw in gallants, who are never wanting to make up the consort, and from these meetings many marriages were contracted; [they are] judged therefore unfit to be used before the solemnity of the sacrament when they are laid aside, though kept up upon ordinary Sundays.<sup>285</sup>

If this suggests a proper respect for the cene, equally it implies that behaviour at yueilles had improved very little. The Sabbath (save for once a quarter) still was frequently profaned by the authorities' earlier criteria.

A persistent general disregard for the sanctity of the Sabbath is confirmed by a remark in the autobiography of the New England divine, Increase Mather, who spent several months in Guernsey 1659–61. "Finding the Sabbath to be much profaned in that Island", he wrote, "I preached on the fourth commandment ... so as to cause considerable external Reformation in that particular, in that place, for some time".<sup>286</sup> Yet as Trumbull's remarks suggest, and as Mather recognised, the reformation of manners he allegedly brought about can have been only "external" and temporary.

Indeed in the later sixteen-hundreds the local pastor Thomas le Marchant (before whom some of the cases in the surviving consistory minutes of S. Martin had been heard) bemoaned "the luxury, superfluity, and excess of feasts (festins) and dress ... which are greater, more notorious and frequent in the said island (considering its poverty and smallness) than in any other place".<sup>287</sup> He went on to notice that "swearing and blasphemy are so usual" in Guernsey that they should be punished severely.<sup>288</sup>

Commentators remarking on such things may have exaggerated and may have viewed popular indiscipline against a general background of sober conformity. Nonetheless, standards of

religious and moral behaviour in late sixteenth– and early seventeenth–century Guernsey clearly never met the Church's ambitions for society.

(iii) a Calvinist culture?

In 1580 Louis Devyck alleged that the ministers "by their preaching ... are the causes of many troubles here and the people desire to be delivered from their discipline".<sup>289</sup> This is a biased source, but the foregoing discussion strongly suggests that the community frequently was indifferent to several aspects of Calvinist discipline, or rejected them outright.

In terms of moral and religious attitudes and behaviour, Guernsey cannot, then, be said to have had a profound and homogenous Calvinist culture. The Court acted in some ways to enforce standards of conduct, its concern being the traditional one of maintaining secular order. It exploited religious teaching and morality in so far as they served this end.

Otherwise, to the frequent annoyance of the Church, and in spite of its own ordinances, the Court neglected to enforce much of the Calvinist–inspired legislation. Nothing suggests it had any more desire to "make windows into men's hearts and secret



thoughts"<sup>290</sup> than its sovereign reputedly did. Neither did the Court much assist the Church to do this. Without the sanctions of secular punishments the Church could not effectively police its discipline. Discipline was fully enforced only to a limited degree and only in so far as it served the Court's secular interests to do so. In terms of the Church's moral and social ambitions (set out for example in the resolutions of the synod of 1567, and frequently repeated thereafter) an homogenous Calvinist culture did not emerge.

## Chapter Seven

### **CALVINISM, POVERTY AND PROSPERITY**

The previous chapter showed that the community's religious and moral behaviour often failed to meet the ideals of the Calvinist Church. The Royal Court, whilst repeatedly paying lip-service to those ideals, often neglected to enforce the legislation which it made at the behest of the Church.

The Court did, however, adopt other aspects of Calvinist social thought more enthusiastically. This was especially so in areas where Calvinist ideas served its duty to control the lowest orders of society. Other policies the Court pursued were founded on Calvinist ideas concerning work discipline and economics which benefited the financial interests of the Court, the merchant elite and the island economy as a whole.

This Chapter, then, examines how policies concerning the long-standing problem of the poor were shaped by religious ideas. It goes on in section ii to discuss other Calvinist ideas which the governing elite found attractive and implemented.

## The Court, the Church and the poor

### The able-bodied poor

The traditional distinction between the "deserving" and "undeserving" poor remained. The latter were harshly regulated by the Court. As always, vagrancy and indiscipline amongst the poor – symptoms of wider social instability – were condemned. Foreign and local vagabonds, idlers and beggars, the unemployed, and indigent youths and children all were subject to strict regulation. Those able to work were usually forced to do so. Others were given corporal punishment or banished.

#### (i) Foreigners:

Another traditional distinction, between native offenders and foreigners, also continued to shape the Court's responses. Its general policy towards the undeserving foreign poor is summed up in an ordinance of 20 January 1589.<sup>1</sup> This required that

all vagabonds and idlers who do not want to work, and those who are noted for not loyally earning their living, who

have a bad reputation, or have committed paillardize or adultery, if they are foreigners native outside this island, shall quit this island within forty days of having been given notice, without returning thereafter, on pain of being whipped at the crossroads of the town, and their ears attached to the pillory; and after the said term of forty days, no person shall lodge any of those who are commanded to quit, on pain of twenty livres tournois fine, half to the Queen and half to the informer.

By an ordinance of 1598 strangers had to obtain a certificate from the Governor before taking up work in the island.<sup>2</sup> The parish constables were to ensure that they had employment before allowing them to disembark. The 1611 Code similarly provided that strangers should not settle in the island without the Court's permit, ordering the constables to report those of them dependent on public funds (en charge au public), so that they might be sent away from the island.<sup>3</sup>

On 8 April 1616 the Court required the douzaine of S. Pierre Port to notify two designated jurats of the vagabonds and strangers in their parish, so that the laws could be enforced.<sup>4</sup> On 20 January following it went further, giving wide-ranging powers to jurats, making several pairs of them responsible for good order in



the parishes.<sup>5</sup> In the parish churches on the first Thursday of each month these delegates received written reports from the constables and douzaines. Matters could thereupon be referred to the Court as necessary. This order is referred to in acts of 1630 and 1631 which required the parish authorities to report all idlers and vagabonds to the Court.<sup>6</sup> A similar order of 1633 gives the constables a few days in which to prepare a report for the Crown's Procureur, and mentions papist foreigners as well as idlers, vagabonds and inutiles.<sup>7</sup>

Records of the implementation of such legislation are few, although some surviving pages from what once must have been a much fuller register go some way in illustrating the operation of the poor law.<sup>8</sup> These pages record orders made at two Court sessions, each held over a few days in January and May 1606. On the reports of parish vingteniers the Court inter alia required several foreigners to quit the island. By sex and nationality these were as follows:

<u>origin</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
Normandy	2	22
Jersey	7	4
Alderney	1	1
Sark	1	1

(not stated)

(11)

(9)

These figures include six married couples, three of Jersey and three whose origin is unknown. Some had children who were banished as well. The "not stated" classification may include some local people ordered to return to their native parishes.

Overwhelmingly the subjects of the orders are called servants. Most had reached or were approaching the end of a term of service. The document also records several orders to individuals, some of them foreigners, to hire themselves, often on threat of expulsion.

The old problem of foreign vagabonds and unemployed servants thus remained of as much concern to the Court as it had in pre-Reformation times. Whilst the system was increasingly well organised, the old solutions – restrictions on immigration, enforced employment, corporal punishment and expulsion – continued to be exercised.

(ii) able-bodied natives

a. the treatment of beggars

The orders which required monthly returns from the parishes applied equally to natives. Idlers and vagabonds (faineantes et vagabondes) reported by the constables were to be punished as criminals, especially if they begged. The 1611 Code laid down corporal punishment for all unlicensed beggars over fourteen years of age.<sup>9</sup> Confinement in the parish stocks was threatened for a first offence, a private birching (d'estre battue de verges en chambre cloze) for a second, and twelve lashes in the marketplace for a third. Children begging without parental consent were to be caned at the nearest parish school. Parents were to be prosecuted if children offended with their knowledge.

Under the law of April 1616 appointing overseeing jurats to the parishes, these corporal punishments were inflicted without recourse to Court action. This provided "discretionary authority to the said sieurs [the jurats] ... it being to this effect commanded to the constables of each parish and other officers to obey them in everything which they command them".<sup>10</sup> This compares with the provisions of the English act of 1598 which required constables to whip beggars summarily.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the tenor of these orders, some limited begging was in fact allowed, in theory at least. This was another feature which the Guernsey regulations shared with the English legislation.<sup>12</sup>



An ordinance of 21 January 1598 allowed poor old people who had no other means of subsistence to beg.<sup>13</sup> The 1611 Code also allowed the possibility in special circumstances, requiring a licence signed by the Bailiff or his lieutenant.<sup>14</sup> However, no grants of licences have been found.

b. providing work

Rather than licensing beggars, the authorities offered alternative occupations, and obliged people to accept them. After his fortnight's visit to Guernsey in 1629, Peter Heylyn noted that when in Jersey he found "the children ... continually craving almes of every stranger; whereas in all Guernzey I did not see one begger".<sup>15</sup> This was the result of the combination of punitive legislation and the enforcement of work discipline.

The means taken to put the poor in work is revealed in the law of 21 January 1598.<sup>16</sup> The constables and douzaines had to put all persons dignes de servir into service, and masters and mistresses were ordered to employ them. A record of terms of service and wages was to be kept. The law also provided that the best houses in the parishes (the principalles maisons de ceulx qui sont les mieulx moyennez) should accept "young persons who are unfit to be put in service". These presumably were put to



field work and similar labours in return for their board.

The fragment of the register of 1606 demonstrates the variety of actions taken under this and related legislation. Many servants and apprentices were assigned to named masters. Others were ordered to find work, and others to desist from begging or keep their children under control. The statistics of hirings ordered by the Court in January and May 1606 are as follows:

Servants hired:

<u>Term in years</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>
3	38	10
4	0	1
5	1	0
6	3	2
7	2	1
8	0	1
9	1	1
10	1	2
11	0	0
12	4	0
13	1	0
14	0	0
15	2	0
not stated	2	3
Totals	55	21

By far the most common term for which servants were bound to employers was three years. The longest terms almost certainly relate to the employment of young children who were to be provided for by their masters and mistresses until maturity.

Employers were obliged to maintain all for the term of employment, and usually to pay a small wage, commonly three escus a year. Some clothes, often two outfits (double vesture) and shoes, and sometimes other items (including a cow in two instances), and a "lump sum" payment were usually due at the end of the term. These actions, and the legislation which provided for them, are strongly reminiscent of quarterly English "hiring sessions" made under the Statute of Artificers of 1563.<sup>17</sup>

The nature of the work to be performed by the servants went unspecified. Besides household and agricultural duties, servants, like the rest of the poor, doubtless were also obliged to comb, spin and knit wool for weavers working within a "putting out" system operated by merchants.

More than twice as many women as men were hired, and women were much more likely to be bound to service for longer terms. The gender pattern is not surprising. A wider variety of occupations were open to men, who were also more likely to travel abroad seeking employment or take up maritime careers. The long-standing caution to see that women were subject to the oversight of men, whether fathers, husbands, or employers, also accounts for the particular care taken by the authorities to see that women were given employment. Concerns with bastardy

and subsequent demands on charity, treated below, perhaps also account for the preponderance of women amongst servants put to work like this.

These, then, were the remedies for the native idle poor: they were threatened with, and given, corporal punishment, ordered to find work, or assigned to masters and mistresses for a fixed term on fixed conditions.

c. children and youths

Although some children – especially the youngest – were supported with alms, as discussed below, many older children and youths were included amongst those of the able-bodied poor who were put to work or removed from the island. The Court sought to make families responsible for indigent children and youths. If families failed to do this, godparents were to take charge. In the absence of these then the able-bodied became the responsibility of the parish authorities.

The general policy was set out in an ordinance of 30 September 1566:

That henceforth if there are found in the town or any of the

parishes of the island any poor orphans or children of poor people who have not the means to nourish them, nor to send them to England to learn good trades by which in future they might live and aid their parents, the constables of the said parishes and town shall have the charge and task of searching for masters for them in their parishes, and if they cannot be found, to send them to England at the cost of the said parishes.<sup>18</sup>

In 1571 this order was repeated.<sup>19</sup> Its terms recur in the law of January 1589, which also prohibited begging by children.<sup>20</sup> The parish constables were to see to this in cases of children without family. A law of 1592 again stressed the responsibilities of families and godparents.<sup>21</sup>

Although ages are not given, the orders of 1606 clearly include several examples of setting of youths to work locally. In further imitation of the English Statute of Artificers, several were apprenticed. In the two recorded sessions of 1606 these were as follows:<sup>22</sup>

Apprenticeships:

<u>Term in years</u>	<u>females</u>	<u>males</u>
6	0	1
7	0	3



8	0	1
not stated	0	2
Totals	0	7

Like servants, apprentices were owed payments at the expiration of service, and sometimes professional equipment as well. The seven apprenticeships – two to fish, one to learn to weave, and the others in unspecified trades – are for youths. This contrasts with the hiring of servants, the majority of whom were women. There is no evidence of young women being apprenticed. Again, long-standing attitudes to women in part account for this, although girls could perhaps be placed more easily in domestic work in the island.<sup>23</sup>

As the legislation provided, if apprenticeship or other local solutions proved impossible then boys dependent on charity were sent to England at public expense, often to work. In 1606 two fathers, a mother and an aunt were instructed to send family there, in two instances to relations. The Court also sent one Jean Marche (Marsh?), who perhaps had no local family, to his uncle in England. Parishes were ordered to find masters for another eight young men or send them to England, presumably to be bound apprentice.

In at least one instance it appears that local youths who had been

maintained at parish expense were sent still further afield to work. The S. Pierre Port poor accounts for 1649 record a payment of twenty livres tournois "for grey cloth to clothe three boys who have been hired to Nicollas de Caen to go to the barbades".<sup>24</sup> This was probably bad luck for the boys, and perhaps an outcome of incorrigibility: conditions for indentured servants in Barbados generally were very poor.<sup>25</sup>

d. Apprenticeship in England

Barbados was an exceptional destination. The laws of 1566 and later make it clear that it was customary to send some local youths to England "to learn good trades". Guernsey youths most often were sent to Southampton to be bound apprentices, especially until the 1630s. These included both poor youths and the sons of wealthier citizens. Links between Guernsey merchants and Southampton were particularly close after the restoration of customs concessions in 1574, and much business was done with the French Huguenot community settled in the town.<sup>26</sup> An entry in the Guernsey Colloquy's minutes dated 28 September 1604 is indicative of the strength of the link.<sup>27</sup> Upon notification of "the great necessity of our brothers of Hampton, grievously afflicted by the plague" a house-to-house collection was ordered. In happier times Guernsey merchants often

participated in the cene at the French Church at Southampton.<sup>28</sup>

The Huguenots there concentrated on textiles, bringing the manufacture of "new draperies" to the town in the 1560s and 70s and establishing connections with weavers in France and the Netherlands. Serge manufacture and <sup>e</sup>dying were a speciality, and French canvas and linen was also traded, some via S. Pierre Port.<sup>29</sup> Guernsey youths frequently were apprenticed to the weavers and dyers, and others were sent to work in Southampton as shoemakers and cobblers.<sup>30</sup> In 1582 this led to a complaint of "divers Journeyemen" that "the strangers of this towne", the Huguenots, "kepith so many prentisses" that the natives lost work. The journeymen begged that the strangers should be ordered to employ local apprentices and not the "frentch and guarnzey childeren".<sup>31</sup>

These "childeren" must have included some of Guernsey's poor. Dr James has identified a concern about the numbers of Island poor being sent to the town in periods of rising demand on limited resources. In 1575 six Channel Island mariners were called before the mayor and ordered to cease bringing any adults or children of the Channel Islands into the port unless they were of the merchant elite. This order appears to have had little effect, and the Guernsey community of merchants, artisans, apprentices



and even paupers remained significant in Southampton.<sup>32</sup>

Youths who could not be employed in Guernsey were thus off-loaded in England, where they were made dependent on relations or put in work. A common language, a common faith and (perhaps) financial inducements from Guernsey, made some of the unwanted youths more attractive to the French and Guernsey communities at Southampton than they were at home.

The Royal Court and parish officers operated a coherent policy towards able-bodied youths and older children. Parents and godparents were expected to see that they had work once of age. Alternatively they were sent to work locally or sent abroad, sometimes as apprentices. Although no doubt traumatic for many of its subjects, for some this policy at least offered the chance to escape poverty. In return they were expected to submit to work discipline.

#### The Church and the impotent poor and needy

A sharp distinction was drawn between the able-bodied and the impotent poor. The latter – the native old and young, ill and crippled, and those with emergency needs – were regarded as "deserving", provided they behaved deferentially. Calvinism



taught that the Church should provide for them.<sup>33</sup> Guernsey's Royal Court was quite willing to exploit this conviction.

Previous chapters have shown that before the Reformation the needy were provided for (to a degree which cannot now be ascertained) by the charity of pious individuals, obits, and fraternities. The act of alms-giving was an aid to salvation, according to the notion of the efficacy of works. Protestantism, since it denied the existence of Purgatory and the principle of efficacy, removed that rationale for charity.<sup>34</sup> The traditional reasons for giving alms were thus discredited. Money may have been diverted away from the poor, both through discouraging Catholic and casual alms-giving, and confiscating existing funds.

It might be supposed then that charity failed and individuals in want suffered proportionately. However, this was not the case. Although Protestantism denied *charity* as a means to salvation, its ideologues developed a justification for charitable activities. Charity was, after all, divinely ordained, and had to be fitted into Reformed theology.

The performance of good works came to be associated with ideas of calling and election. Weber accurately summarized the thinking of Protestant reformers on the matter: "however useless

good works might be as a means of attaining salvation, for even the elect remain beings of the flesh, and everything they do falls infinitely short of divine standards, nevertheless, they are indispensable as a sign of election".<sup>35</sup>

A French source of 1551 sums this up: "charity is the mark by which one knows the true disciples of Jesus".<sup>36</sup> This conviction is expressed in the words of a Guernsey prayer:

... Touch ... the heart<sup>t</sup> and entrayles of everyone of us, that following thy liberalitie towards us, we may willingly and frankly distribute of our goods to sustain the necessitie of the afflicted, as members of the same bodie, and entertaining the communion, which ought to be between the faithful, we may shew by effect that we are true members of the Church.<sup>37</sup>

Thus the Church taught that in performing good works men and women gained assurance of their own election.

The traditional "mutual economy of salvation" was replaced with a new system of charity organised on an institutional basis. Guernsey again followed Continental Reformed models, themselves drawn from Calvin's adaptation of Catholic and

Genevan institutions.

(i) the duties of the Church

a. the absence of secular rates

In England the Poor Law of 1598 provided for a secular parish rate, administered by overseers of the poor.<sup>38</sup> This is echoed in a Guernsey ordinance of the same year, which refers to the duty of parish constables to levy une contribution on parishioners to support the impotent poor.<sup>39</sup> The Code of 1611 similarly provided that in default of sufficient alms being raised by the Church, then twice a year the parish administration should levy a tax for the maintenance of the poor.<sup>40</sup>

These provisions must, however, refer only to hypothetical situations where the Church's charity might prove inadequate, since both earlier and later legislation makes it quite clear that the support of the poor was overwhelmingly the duty of the Church. The ordinance of 1589 on the subject, for example, states that "poor old people who have not the means to live or to work shall be supported, each in his/her parish, from the alms of the Church".<sup>41</sup>

There is no indication that the secular powers ever were driven to raising taxes for the poor in the period covered by this study. All the evidence points to the conclusion that the deserving poor were supported by funds raised and administered by the Church, which with the support of the Royal Court operated a sophisticated system of poor relief.

b. the Diaconate

Both the 1576 and 1597 editions of the Discipline required that the diaconate should provide for the parish poor from alms.<sup>42</sup> The deacons were to make collections after sermons, and if necessary by house-to-house visits. Alms were distributed under the consistory's direction: "They shall endeavour that the poore shall be nourished without going about a begging. ... They shall visite the poore, sicke, and impotent, and the prisoners, to comfort and assist them in their necessitie".<sup>43</sup> Ideally there were two deacons in each parish.<sup>44</sup> Failing this, the elders were to carry out their obligations. The deacons sat in the consistory, to give notice of needy cases and offer advice.

The deacons kept accounts and presented them after the quarterly cene. In 1586 the Colloquy protested that accounts were not always properly maintained.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless the



ordinary accounts of S. Pierre Port, which survive from 1634, give a strong impression of a well-organised system of poor relief.<sup>46</sup> Income from collections and elsewhere is set out, and the names of people receiving relief and the amounts paid to them also tabulated. The accounts enable the reconstruction of the measures taken to succour the impotent poor.

(ii) sources of income

Income came from four sources: collections at services, donations (most in the poor box), bequests under wills, and investments.

The amounts of collections and total payments at S. Pierre Port in sample years 1635, 1640, 1645 and 1650 are shown in graphs A–D in Appendix Five. No seasonal trend emerges, other than that collections at the quarterly cenes were markedly greater. This may reflect larger congregations, greater generosity at these major celebrations, or – most likely – a combination of the two factors.

There was a poor box (tronc) in the Church for casual donations. Its contents were counted each quarter. Amounts were sometimes quite substantial, comparable to collections on days of the cene. On occasions quite large sums were placed in the

box with anonymous notes regarding their use. In 1637 100 livres tournois was left with a message asking that the money be invested in rents for the poor.<sup>47</sup> Three years later a similar note accompanied a donation of thirty livres in gold left in the box.<sup>48</sup>

Other sporadic donations at S. Pierre Port included, in 1641, a gift to the poor of a large sum of over 207 livres "by the proprietors and sailors of the good ship named La Fleur of this town, in gratitude for a signal deliverance of God from the peril this ship and company had [suffered] returning from S. Malo".<sup>49</sup>

The Church also received income from annual corn rents. These derived from a variety of sources. Some were purchased from gifts made specifically for this purpose. Other rents were bequeathed to the funds of the poor. Others very likely were purchased out of surpluses in collections. We cannot offer certain proof of this, however, since these purchases would have been transferred to the extraordinary account, now lost.

Two investments of 1642 offering a return similar to rent investments are referred to in the ordinary account.<sup>50</sup> By a form of secured loan (hypotecque), the consistory authorised payments from the funds of the poor to Thomas Careye and Pierre Sauvary of 400 and 150 livres tournois respectively. Careye was to pay

interest of 20 livres a year, and Sauvary the sum of one quarter of wheat rent, equivalent at 1643 prices to six livres.<sup>51</sup> These represent annual interest rates of five and four per cent respectively.

Other capital property yielded rent income. S. Pierre Port owned two poorhouses, that of S. Julien and one at Rue Berthelot. The latter was rented out, at least in part. Thus in 1635 the receipt of eleven livres fifteen sous tournois for it from a schoolmaster is recorded.<sup>52</sup> Five years later twelve livres were received from one Jean Renouf for his tenancy "of the quay and cellar of the poorhouse in Rue Berthelot (de la quae et du cellier de la Maison des pauvres en la Rue berthelot)".<sup>53</sup> Whilst not without outgoings – both poorhouses were repaired at a cost of over 115 livres in 1644<sup>54</sup> – the rental of one of them provided another source of income for the parish's impotent poor.

The records of S. Pierre Port also show that the needy were often remembered by the dying. Their bequests formed a further source of funds. The deacons' duty, in the absence of executors, to administer legacies to the poor was reiterated in the Code of 1611.<sup>55</sup> Nearly every quarter the deacon charged with the garde du liure des testamens<sup>56</sup> at S. Pierre Port made a return referring to new bequests. In the period 1634–50 the

largest amount mentioned in the accounts is 120 livres left by Jean Guillaume of Southampton in 1641.<sup>57</sup> The smallest amount is ten sous bequeathed by Marie Valee, servant of Thomas Careye, the seigneur of Blanchelande, in 1650.<sup>58</sup>

The most generous surviving will comes from S. Pierre du Bois. This was made by Pierre de l'Isle in 1627.<sup>59</sup> By it fifteen quarters of annual wheat rent were to be shared by the poor of the island's ten parishes, including ten for S. Pierre Port. The minister Jean Perchard was charged with the administration of this legacy. A further 100 escus was to be distributed to the poor by the executors. A like sum was left in trust, the interest going towards the education of scholars for the ministry. De l'Isle also devised a house in his native parish for a poorhouse. Next, he left various sums to the parish church and its school. Seven hundred livres tournois went to the island's états, together with a further 500 ecus for them to establish a maison de correction. This is particularly indicative of an awareness of the need to reform the idle poor in the manner attempted from the early sixteenth century in English houses of correction, or "bridewells".<sup>60</sup> In Guernsey nothing seems to have come of it and the sum reverted to the poor.

There were thus several ways in which money was raised for



distribution to the needy. Most cash was gathered at collections after services, especially at the cene. Quite substantial sums were also emptied from the poor box. Carefully preserved surpluses were invested in rents, and loans at interest. Rent came in from other property. Wills often left large and small sums and rents to the poor.

(iii) distributing alms

The poor may be subdivided into those of the impotent who were permanently dependent on the Church's charity, and those who were supported with alms in times of extraordinary need.

a. long-term provision

The Discipline provided that members of the congregation (the "household of faith") should be given priority in the distribution of alms, although surpluses might succour strangers.<sup>61</sup> Such distributions obviated the need to beg, and – together with the harsh measures taken against the able-bodied – account for the paucity of references to licensed begging and Heylyn's surprise at finding no beggars on the streets. The same reason may also explain why the états apparently saw no need to establish a house of correction when offered funds to do so.

The amounts paid out at S. Pierre Port in four sample years are shown in graphs A–D in Appendix Five. Totals varied very little from week to week. The Church authorities were careful to maintain a small surplus of income over expenditure. The people who received alms shown in the ordinary account tended to be the same, months and years at a time. They were the long-term poor. This would be difficult to demonstrate statistically, but is clear from a careful reading of the accounts, which name recipients. Occasionally a new name is admitted, and others disappear, often, presumably, when the recipient dies. Children are an exception: they vanish as they come of age to work. The impression is that these are the only individuals who leave due to an improvement in circumstances.

The final graph (E) in the Appendix breaks down the numbers of recipients by gender. This also confirms that the total number receiving alms varied little. Women always outnumber men. This would be expected, since economically vulnerable widows were prevalent throughout Early Modern Europe.<sup>62</sup>

Some young children are also shown in this graph. Foster parents were given payments for taking them in. They were destined, no doubt, to be put apprenticed or put in service as the law demanded as soon as they came of age. This may have

been fourteen as suggested by the differentiation in punishment for begging on either side of that age. More likely – for boys at least – it was around twelve, at which age an ordinance of 1586 required that they should quit knitting and do something else to earn a living.<sup>63</sup>

Besides simple alms, a few of the poor were given accommodation. The poorhouses at S. Pierre du Bois, Rue Berthelot and S. Julien have been referred to. Elie Brevint, the minister of Sark, described the medieval hospital of S. Julien and its inhabitants c. 1636:

At S. Pierre Port there is an hospital or hostel dieu, namely at Gategny, having two rooms [chambres], cellar, kitchen etc. Marie, the widow of Jean Balam lives there with her daughter; the said widow has lost the use of one hand; she receives five sous or thereabouts a week from the poor funds.<sup>64</sup>

Except in her good fortune in having accommodation provided, Marie Balam was characteristic of many of the respectable poor, crippled so unable to work, widowed, and dependent on charity.

Assistance was not restricted to money and, sometimes, accommodation. The poor accounts of S. Pierre Port show that by the 1640s large quantities of cloth were regularly imported into the island specifically to clothe the poor. Merchants travelling to Southampton and S. Malo frequently were entrusted with sums to purchase English and Norman cloth pour nos poures.<sup>65</sup>

Using funds raised voluntarily, the Church thus operated a system which looked after destitute young children and orphans, provided funds for those physically unable to live from their labours, and sometimes clothed and sheltered them as well.

b. short-term necessity

Other payments were made by the deacons to deserving people in urgent need. Those suffering accident and sickness, the effects of fire or war, and capture at sea, all were relieved by Church funds. At S. Pierre Port these payments generally were included in the (lost) extraordinary accounts, but some do crop up in the ledger which has survived.

Casual aid to the sick is referred to in two instances in the sixteen-forties, when women repaid four and six livres which they had received when ill. More pathetically, in 1650 a widow repaid



the ten livres with which her late husband had been assisted.<sup>66</sup> Similar payments were probably commonplace, but the recipients unwilling, or unable, to return the monies.

Some special collections were made at the church door for those with urgent needs. The loss of property through fire was a common reason for them. Over seventy-two livres were collected for two men of S. Samson who had suffered like this in 1645.<sup>67</sup> Congregations perhaps exercised some discrimination in these matters though, for two years later only a little over one livre was collected for two men who had suffered similar losses.<sup>68</sup>

The same means were adopted to raise ransoms for local men captured by Algerian pirates. In 1641 a series of collections were taken for prisoners of the turcs, en Argere (Algiers).<sup>69</sup> In 1647 one Vincent Philips of Lantregué (Tréguier, Brittany), returning from Spain and the Turks was given one livre to help him on his way.<sup>70</sup>

A more regular fund for the relief of unfortunate mariners and those suffering losses from fire was established by the will of Jean de la Court, made in 1588, three years before his death. This left property in S. Pierre Port and a large rent for the benefit

of the necessitous poor generally, poor children, and particularly for poor inhabitants "whose houses shall be burned, to assist them to rebuild them; and also to be employed for the relief of poor prisoners having been taken at sea [pauvres prisonieres ayant eté pillez a la mer], or other poor mariners who shall lose by shipwreck or otherwise their ship or vessels".<sup>71</sup>

The Civil War may have been the cause of other urgent needs. The church of S. Pierre Port itself was a target of the Royalist cannons at Castle Cornet.<sup>72</sup> In 1645 the war was alluded to when thirty livres were paid to Hellier Chevallier, a Jerseyman resident in the town, a cause de la guerre.<sup>73</sup> On 7 April 1650, five livres five sous was spent on "black Caen serge purchased by Jean Renouf at S. Malo to serve for the burials [of those] who were taken at sea by the Jersey men-of-war".<sup>74</sup>

Hence the system of poor relief operated by the Church also assisted those who were impotent in the shorter term. Payments during illness and after accidents were to a degree made out of standing funds, but when disaster struck individuals, the authorities were not slow to ask congregations to make donations. Urgent demands met urgent responses without diminishing the funds of the long-term poor. Although watched over by the secular power, the organisation and apparent success

of the system depended on Calvinist social thought,<sup>74</sup> and its implementation by the Church.

### The poor and the local polity

Calvinist thinking similarly underpinned the harsh disciplinary measures taken against the able-bodied. In the Catholic polity, charity may often have been given to beggars later regarded as undeserving and work-shy. Other people, in genuine need, may have missed out. Relief may sometimes have been "fragmented and spotty".<sup>75</sup> Other charity had been indiscriminate; gifts a chacun feu in particular were an example of this.<sup>76</sup> Christopher Hill sums up the contrasting Protestant attitude:

Since God preferred industry to idleness, giving alms to a strange beggar might well be a sin. Relief should be given only after proper investigation: and it should take the form of employment, not of alms, to all except the aged and impotent.<sup>76</sup>

This applies equally to Guernsey. Under the Protestant system, with its careful surveillance and administration, the distinction between the able-bodied and impotent was more clearly drawn. Considerable efforts were made to find employment for the able-



bodied and to limit alms to the impotent. The deserving and undeserving were clearly identified and dealt with accordingly.

Moreover, alms were provided without recourse to secular taxes of the sort levied in England. These might have made the administration unpopular. At best, they would have necessitated organised assessments and collections.

There were other advantages, which the Court's members could not fail to recognise, both as magistrates and as representatives of the merchant and property-owning elite. The disciplinary measures taken to cope with the able-bodied reinforced the Court's authority, making examples of wrong-doers and the idle. It also gave greater powers to parish officers and other Court servants. Notions of social and political hierarchy were reinforced.

Conversely, to other members of the social group from which the Court's members and officers came, the condemnation of casual, personal, charity may have been welcome. Sir Keith Thomas suggests that in seventeenth-century England "a man who turned away his neighbour empty-handed could do so with a clearer conscience, for he could tell himself that other ways now existed of dealing with the problem".<sup>77</sup> The same may well have been



true of Guernsey's gens de bien, and from an earlier date.

The system also released a supply of labour. This again was of advantage to the local elite, especially, perhaps, as the organisers of the "putting out" of wool (see below). Individuals were compelled to work for masters and mistresses for fixed terms at fixed rates. Trade may have been encouraged a little through the creation of apprenticeships. Even local youths sent abroad – however unworthy some might be regarded as individuals – contributed to the significance of the Channel Island community at Southampton.<sup>78</sup>

Work discipline was engendered through such measures, and through the general (Calvinist-inspired) emphasis on the dignity of labour in one's calling. Idleness was condemned and punished, and industry commended and insisted upon.

## II

### Calvinism, the Court and Commerce

#### (i) the commercial interests of the Court's members

Many of the island's elite were involved in commerce. Many were also active Calvinists. This section discusses the affinities

between the two interests, and how the relationship found expression. The conclusion of the chapter will link some aspects of Reformed thinking with actions taken by the secular authorities.

The bailiffs and jurats of the Royal Court, their families and associates, were frequently involved in commerce at home and abroad. This traditionally was the case, as shown in Chapter One. The Court's members were still of the merchant class in the Calvinist era.

The names of several jurats crop up amongst those of Guernsey merchants participating in the cene at Southampton. The records of the French Church there show Nicollas le Mesurier (jurat 1565–92), Jacques Guille (1560–82), Nicolas Samares (1565–83), and Jean Joens (Jones, 1572–80) taking communion.<sup>79</sup> These men must have been in the town on business. Nicollas de la Court (jurat 1550–73) was buried by the church at Southampton in August 1573. The register confirms he was a merchant, noting he estoit venu en ceste ville de Hampton pour sa marchandise.<sup>80</sup>

There are other records of the commercial pursuits of Court members. Pierre Careye, a jurat 1588–1602, was called by

Leighton "a merchant off this isle honneste and trusty".<sup>81</sup> His merchant's mark is known. The brothers Nicollas and Jean de Sausmarez (jurats 1565–83, 1583–1603) are believed to have specialised in the wine trade. Nicolas Martin filz Collas (jurat 1593–1621) similarly combined Court and commercial interests. His family traded with Poole and Southampton.<sup>82</sup> The memorandum book of James de Havilland (jurat 1651 – c.1670) confirms the extent to which members of the Royal Court engaged in commerce. De Havilland was a notable merchant, trading with England and France.<sup>83</sup>

Such elite interests are further evidenced by the use of merchants' marks to counterseal Royal Court documents. John Blondel (jurat 1561–92), used his mark when serving as the bailiff's lieutenant in the 1580s. Jean de Quetteville, Bailiff 1631–44, used such a device in his official business.<sup>84</sup> His private interests included a brewery.<sup>85</sup>

These examples show that many – perhaps all – of the Court's members were personally interested in the trade of the Island. As such, they were eager to use their positions to promote commerce.

(ii) the growth of trade

Before examining the ways in which they did this, the general growth of trade in the Calvinist era must be sketched. It is unnecessary to do so at great length, since the development of local manufacture and commerce has recently been described by Dr Appleby.<sup>86</sup>

His researches confirm Heylyn's observation of 1629 that

the people addict themselves to merchandise especially, leaving the care of husbandry unto their hindes ... Nor do they trafick only in small boats between St Malos and the islands, as those of Jarsey but are masters of good stout Barks, and venture unto all these nearer Ports of Christendom.<sup>87</sup>

In the seventeenth century trade was carried on by local merchants with France, England and Wales, Iceland, Portugal, the Netherlands, the Baltic, and Spain.

Knitwear was a principal manufacture from the late sixteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Heylyn found the natives "exceeding cunning" at the craft.<sup>89</sup> Wool was imported from England by local merchants, and "put out" by middle-men to households for combing, spinning and hand-knitting into garments, which were then exported.<sup>90</sup>



A large part of the population was involved in this trade. In 1616 a permit to import extra English wool was granted by the Privy Council to the "Inhabitantes" (the merchant elite) "for setting their people on worke, who are cheifly imployed in converting wooll into stockens and other knitt ware".<sup>91</sup> Most trade was done with France, and by the 1660s some 240,000 pairs of stockings were sent there each year. From the sixteenth century Southampton (one of the ports, with London, sending wool to Guernsey) also imported large quantities of Guernsey knitwear and cloth.<sup>92</sup>

The trade was of great significance. It was alleged by the *états* in 1630 that "All the money that comes to the Island is out of the proceed of sale of stockins [*sic*], which they [the inhabitants] carry over into France".<sup>93</sup> Hence in times of war when trade was interrupted the effect on Guernsey's poor could be profound. In 1627 in such circumstances the *états* arranged to buy up stockings from the *plus pauvres de l'Isle*, since they were "wholly destitute of the means to live".<sup>94</sup>

Wine was also shipped through Guernsey to England in increasing quantities by local *entrepreneurs*. Some of these kept factors in Spain and Portugal. In 1605 the merchant Jean de Beauvoir employed two Guernseymen in Lisbon, namely Thomas le Marchant (d. 1620) and Jean Briard.<sup>95</sup> Further Guernsey

agents resided at Malaga and other Spanish ports.<sup>96</sup>

Overall, Dr Appleby concludes,

The overseas trade of the Channel Islands grew considerably during this period [1500–1689], especially in the seventeenth century following the rise of the stocking-knitting industry. Commercial expansion was encouraged by a widening of commercial horizons ...<sup>97</sup>

### (iii) Calvinism and trade

Whether Protestantism created mentalities which facilitated the widening of such commercial horizons has been the subject of considerable debate. Calvinism certainly encouraged the development of Guernsey's commerce. This may be explained, though, largely in material terms, without resort to Weber's ingenious thesis.<sup>98</sup>

#### a. the Huguenot connection

An important factor in the development of Guernsey's economy was the involvement of local merchants in a thriving international Huguenot network. The Governor Lord Danby referred to the

importance of the connection between local and French Huguenot merchants in his "reasons" delivered to Archbishop Laud in 1637.

He wrote that

The uniformity of the Islanders with those of the French church keeps such a correspondency and association between them, that those of the [Huguenot] religion esteem them a part of themselves ... they make alliances and marry their children with the Islanders, sending unto those islands great part of their stocks, joining in commerce and trade with the merchants there, and out of their mutual interest are much the more careful of their safety and welfare, even to enrich the place.<sup>99</sup>

The close connection between island merchants and the French Huguenot community at Southampton has been referred to. The names of Guernsey merchants, jurats and otherwise, frequently occur in the registers of the French Church there. Connections with Protestant merchants in France are more sparsely recorded, but according to Danby were also significant. The importance of the Paris market for Guernsey-made stockings from the mid-seventeenth century confirms this.<sup>100</sup> Religious sympathies and commercial interests thus went hand in hand.

b. interest rates.

Alterations in local interest rates made according to Calvinist principles also furthered the merchants' interests.

With insignificant exceptions, the Catholic Church had condemned all lending at interest as usurious.<sup>101</sup> Protestant Ideas differed. Calvin condemned excessive interest, profiteering from the poor, and the taking of punitive security.<sup>102</sup> Nonetheless, in cases where the capital could benefit both creditor and debtor, reasonable interest was permissible. In England after 1571 (when the prohibition on usury was lifted) interest was allowed at an annual rate of ten per cent.<sup>103</sup> In 1540 the Low Countries allowed twelve, and Geneva in Calvin's time five per cent.<sup>104</sup>

Guernsey followed suit. In April 1618 the Royal Court passed a long order on the subject. It noted that although the taking of interest (aucun surcroist et accession au sort principal) was illegal, money was customarily loaned at ten per cent. The Court alleged this had impoverished families, and discouraged commerce and maritime trade (commerce et traficque de mer). In order to regularise matters, it limited future contracts and lowered existing ones to eight per cent.<sup>105</sup> Five years later, with the same motives, it further reduced the rate to five per



cent.<sup>106</sup>

This would have stimulated trade in two ways. More money could henceforth be borrowed at less expense. This could encourage the sort of capitalist activities where large outlays of cash were required before a return on investment might be had. Shipping and the organised knitting industry were activities of this type.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, whilst these orders made the borrowing of money cheaper and more attractive, they may have discouraged others from lending it for rentier profit, and driven them to invest capital directly in commerce. The reductions in interest rates thus may have been doubly stimulating to the growth of the economy.

Such actions by the Court would not have been permissible under the traditional religion. In contrast, by 1642, the church of S. Pierre Port itself was lending money at interest. The Reformed faith again provided a religious rationale justifying the Court's actions.

### Calvinism and worldly success

Calvinism served the elite and its commercial interests in still other ways, in many respects making the practice of capitalistic

enterprise and the accumulation of wealth positively virtuous.

Before the Reformation the need of mankind to labour was regarded as a consequence of the Fall. Conversely, to Protestants, as Christopher Hill says, "labour was a duty to one's neighbour, to society, to the commonwealth ...".<sup>108</sup> Calvinist theology gave labour a new dignity by emphasising the importance of each man or woman following his or her proper calling. By extension success in a calling was – like the successful performance of other good works – seen to be a sign of the individual's election:

Although Calvin stressed that works are not the grounds of salvation, he nevertheless allowed it to be understood that they are grounds of assurance. Works may be regarded as "the testimonies of God dwelling and ruling within us" <sup>109</sup>

The success of "worldly activism" in the calling of daily work was gauged most frequently and easily according to the wealth it generated. Thus to the Calvinist William Perkins "Men are to be honoured for their riches".<sup>110</sup> Another thinker reasoned similarly that riches "should be the portion rather of the godly than of the wicked ... for godliness hath the promises of this life as well

as of the life to come".<sup>111</sup>

Hence Calvinism encouraged the responsible accumulation and use of wealth by the godly and taught that in riches, which were the fruit of works, they might find assurance of election. Guernsey's Discipline of 1597 conforms to this view: "The Magistrate ought to watch upon the body and goods of men, that above all he may procure that the honour and service of God may be maintained ... he ought to preserve the good and advance them in riches and honour".<sup>112</sup>

The regulations which advanced the interests of the Calvinist merchant elite therefore were dogmatically justified. Actions taken by the magistrate to enrich "the good" (sc. the magistrate and his peers) were, according to the Discipline, praiseworthy.

This is not an altogether cynical conclusion. Whilst there is an almost universal and timeless tendency to identify one's individual and class interests with the common good, there is evidence – particularly in bequests and the large and often anonymous donations referred to in the S. Pierre Port accounts – that Guernsey's elite assimilated some aspects of Calvinist doctrine. And in material senses alone, the faith often must have benefited the poor just as it did the richer group.

In Calvinism the governing elite thus found a religious sanction given to a system which disciplined labour, encouraged industriousness, and shifted responsibility for the impotent poor onto the Church. The faith fostered communications between island merchants and the Huguenot communities in France and Southampton. It provided the justification for the lowering of interest rates encouraging to capitalism. It taught that through the accumulation of wealth merchants could gain assurance of salvation.

In making the regulations examined in this chapter the members of the Royal Court therefore fulfilled their professional obligations to keep good order, and served their private interests as members of the merchant class, all according to the best religious guidelines.



## CONCLUSION

### Characteristics of the Pre-Reformation period

Political life in Guernsey on the eve of the Reformation was characterised by a regime which strictly enforced conformity to its laws and practices. The secular power aimed to control anti-social individualism. It controlled particular groups which were perceived as threats to the status quo, such as foreigners and vagrants, youths and independent-minded women. As far as possible local trade and the wider economy were similarly regulated in order to maintain equilibrium. Such attitudes reinforced what Professor Muchembled calls a "consciousness of belonging" for the majority.<sup>1</sup>

This political consensus was underpinned by religious beliefs and practices. Religious life was characterised by a great deal of local autonomy, at all levels of society, and little outside interference. The Royal Court and other secular institutions had important religious elements. Notions of community were expressed through religious activities, especially in the fraternities and in the practice of charity. The "mutual economy of salvation"<sup>2</sup> ensured that gens de bien and the deserving poor alike were

aware of their membership of, and roles in, the community. It is certainly true of the early sixteenth-century that "religion was the prime cohesive force ... in society".<sup>3</sup>

### Religious Change

Thus on the eve of the Reformation Guernsey's institutions were in many respects legitimized through religious associations and elements. Its political and social cultures characteristically were hostile to disruption and change, whether from within the island or without.

Religious alterations were therefore strongly resisted by the local authorities, from the time of the subtle subversion of Henry's Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 to the open protests and disorders accompanying the upheavals of 1563-65.

For a variety of reasons, Guernsey's government established a Calvinist regime in the fifteen-sixties and after. I have suggested that amongst other things the faith's pulissant fonctions were attractive to the local elite. After the disorders which the Royal Court and other representatives of the local elite experienced, Calvinism's strict organisation and disciplinary machinery had obvious attractions. Although the consensual "psychic authority"

the Court had enjoyed in the Catholic polity was put at risk, there was some hope of replacing its vital elements through Calvinist organisation and indoctrination.

### The fragmentation of the traditional community

Did Protestantism, then, serve the hegemony of the elite in the manner in which it had been served by traditional Catholicism?

The answer is that whilst the new faith indeed came to buttress the secular power, it did this in ways which differed from those in which the traditional faith had done so. Whilst Calvinism extended the authority of the secular power in several respects, it re-shaped the community into one which was not notable for its common mentalities, beliefs and enterprises, as the Catholic polity had been. Increasingly a new variety in social attitudes and behaviour was expressed.

#### (a) Charity

The revolution which the Reformation brought about in the giving of charity exemplifies this. Traditional Catholic charity had served to bond members of the community together by a sense of reciprocity, whether rich, middling or (deserving) poor. The

Calvinist alternative, whilst probably better organised than the universal and sometimes indiscriminate giving of the Catholic era, deprived society of the comfort of participation in a "mutual economy of salvation".

There was in fact another "mutual economy" of Calvinist charity. This, however, was one in which the recipients gained material aid, and the givers sought some evidence of their own election. This then served to engender not a sense of common participation on the route to salvation, but to differentiate between the wealthier, probably elect, giver, and the poorer, probably damned, receiver. One implication of the belief that by distributing charity believers might "shew by effect that we are true members of the Church"<sup>4</sup> might be that the recipients were unlikely to have been "true members of the Church". It was "the good" who the magistrate was enjoined to "advance ... in riches and honour",<sup>5</sup> hence the poor were equated with badness and dishonour.

There was in that sense a hardening of social divisions between rich and poor, deserving or not. The operation of Calvinist charity had the same consequence, with deacons almost requiring a "means test" and keeping careful records distinguishing the deserving poor.



(b) the "counter-culture"

As with charity, it must be concluded from other areas of this study that the Reformed religion tended to reinforce social divisions. Nowhere is this clearer than with regard to popular culture.

Before the Reformation a vital feature of Guernsey's culture, experienced by nearly all classes, had been a shared participation in similar religious activities, especially those connected with the calendar and with fraternities. The importance of the latter is indicated not only by their numbers, but also by the great trouble the authorities went to in concealing them from English ambitions.

After the Reformation, some features of the suppressed fraternities were absorbed in the more informal get-togethers known as yueilles. Not only did these have a Catholic name, they also shared the sociability and (to Protestant critics) something of the "superstition" of their Catholic precursors. The Court and Church were wholly unable to suppress yueilles, although how much the former even wished to do so is open to question.

The existence of a thriving popular culture again appears to have been socially divisive. Certainly there is every indication of a

lively milieu which in many respects rivalled the official sober Calvinist culture. Young people of both sexes, and foreigners (often servants), appear to have favoured it most, whilst the respectable gens de bien stayed at home. Even these, though, did not always find some aspects of the older traditions inimical. Thus on the eve of the English Revolution, whilst the community cannot be said to have been Catholic, neither can it be said to have been particularly "godly" in terms of the aspirations of the Calvinist Church.

#### The attitudes of the Royal Court

The final two chapters of this study have shown that the Royal Court embraced some aspects of Calvinism with considerably more enthusiasm than others. Its discrimination in prosecuting moral and religious offences may best be accounted for by a reluctance to "rock the boat". Absenteeism from services, or labouring on the Sabbath, did not seriously threaten social order, and a rigorous drive against offenders might have undermined order rather than strengthened it. The Court fully enforced Calvinist legislation only when this was of use in carrying-out its own traditional duties of maintaining civil order.

The contrasting enthusiasm which the Court showed for Calvinist

ideas such as those which led to the provision of alms for the poor by the Church is understandable. Its assumption of an ideology which allowed it to make legislation encouraging the island's economy, and at the same time serve its own material interests, may similarly be accounted for.

### The Calvinist Church and the secular culture

Problems such as the endemic shortage of clergymen, their dependence on the goodwill of the civil power,<sup>6</sup> and that power's reluctance to exact secular retribution in several areas of religious discipline, meant that the Calvinist polity never truly reflected the ideals of the Church's Discipline.

Calvinism did on the whole though suit the secular power very well. It provided institutions and ideologies which maintained and extended the Court's authority, it supported the poor, and it benefited the elite in material terms. The Reformation was moulded by Guernsey's elite to their own interests; what was lost were the dreams of the Calvinist clergy, and the cultural unity and organic character of the pre-Reformation Church.

**REFORMATION AND SOCIETY IN GUERNSEY**

**c. 1500 – c. 1640**

(the second of two volumes)

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## 1. NOTES

## NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Peter Heylyn put the figure at "neer about twenty thousand" in 1629, but this must have been a gross exaggeration. (P. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 297). A petition of 1653, which had cause to exaggerate numbers making demands on limited resources, referred to 8,000. In 1727 the population was officially put at 10,500, of whom 4,500 lived in S. Pierre Port. In 1851 the island population was still under 30,000. (F.B. Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 2, 253f., 343) .
2. Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 3f.
3. J.C. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering" p. 76 .
4. D.T. Williams "The Importance of the Channel Islands in British relation with the Continent during the 13th and 14th centuries" passim .
5. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 299

6. list i/33/27/pp. 23, 32 (vol 1)
7. list i/33/27/p. 44 (vol 1)
8. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"  
p. 76 .
9. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"  
p. 78 .
10. list iii/93/7 (printed in P. Falle An Account of  
the Island of Jersey pp. 241–243) .
11. LP xvii no. 24
12. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"  
p. 85 .
13. E.F. Carey "Notes concerning the owners of  
the various merchants' marks" p. 298 .
14. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"  
p. 85 .
15. A.L. Merson (ed.) The Third Book of  
Remembrance of Southampton pp. 27f.
16. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"  
p. 83 .
17. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering"



18. C. Platt Medieval Southampton p. 216
19. Tupper History of Guernsey p. 137, nn. 1, 2
20. to be found, for example, on the documents listed at list ii/pp. 53–56 .
21. list i/33/27/p. 326 (vol. 1). This pier has not been noted before. On the later pier see Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 182–187.
22. H. de Sausmarez (ed.) "The Earlier Charters of Guernsey" .
23. E.P. Thompson Customs in Common p. 24
24. de Sausmarez (ed.) "The Earlier Charters of Guernsey" passim .
25. See Chapter Two below .
26. J. Havet Les Cours Royales pp. 24–35
27. LP i no. 54 (71)
28. LP xiv no. 619 (21). This grant of November 1539 was in reversion but seems to have taken immediate effect. Of Long's joint predecessors – Sir Richard Weston and Sir

Francis Weston, his son – both were dead by this date, the latter having been executed in 1536 (J. Guy Tudor England p. 142). A grant in reversion had been made to Sir Nicholas Carew (LP xii no. 191 [46]) but he was executed early in 1539 (A.L. Rowse Tudor Cornwall p. 238). On Long see C.H. and T. Cooper "Sir Richard Long" .

29. T.W.M. de Guerin "The English Garrison of Guernsey" passim .
30. J.H. Lenfestey "The Parish Buttes" unpublished lecture to la Société Guernesiaise 22 January 1981 .
31. list i/33/27/p. 44 (vol. 1)
32. list i/33/27/p. 200 (vol. 1)
33. Long was himself a mercer – Cooper "Sir Richard Long" pp. 213f.
34. Coutances extracts passim; on the expulsion of the alien priories generally, see D. Knowles The Religious Orders in England ii ch. 11 .
35. see Chapter Three below

36. D.M. Ogier "The States of Guernsey in the Sixteenth Century" p. 44 .
37. on the Court's officers see Havet Les Cours Royales Ch. 4 .
38. this quotes the fifteenth-century précepte d'assize, printed in H. de Sausmarez (ed.) The Extentes of Guernsey pp. 130–142, corrected by reference to the original, on display in the Greffe strongroom .
39. list ii/pp. 152–156
40. J. le Patourel "The Origins of the Channel Islands Legal System" passim; T.W.M. de Guerin "Notes on the Early Constitutional History of the Channel Islands" passim .
41. eg. list i/33/27/p. 44 (vol.1) (legislation re. grain voided); D.M. Ogier "The Royal Court and Simnel" p. 33. cf. J. Poingdestre Les Lois et Coutumes de l'Île de Jersey p. 71 .
42. Ogier "The States of Guernsey in the Sixteenth Century" passim .
43. Ordonnances p. 1
44. list i/33/27/p. 5 (vol. 1)

45. eg. salt: list i/33/27/pp. 17, 23, 25 (vol. 1);  
butter: list i/33/27/p.35 (vol. 1); beasts: list  
i/33/27/pp. 17 (fat), 25 (both), 27 (both), 30  
(both), 34 (lean) (vol. 1) .
46. J.C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham The  
Englishman's Food p. 43 .
47. Bread: list i/33/27/pp.5, 8, 11, 17, 25 et  
passim (vol. 1) .
48. list i/33/27 (vol. 1) passim
49. wine: list i/33/27/pp.15, 46, 335 (vol. 1)
50. list i/33/27/pp.8, 332 (vol. 1); cf. Ogier "The  
Royal Court and Simnel".
51. list i/33/27/p.28, 32, 34, 339 (vol. 1). I have  
to thank David Best for confirming that the  
kidneys are the first part of a carcase to  
decay .
52. The affeurements 1533–1700 are digested in  
Ordonnances pp. 414–421 .
53. list i/33/27/pp. 17, 20, 27 (vol. 1);  
Ordonnances p. 6. On esterlings and tokens  
see A.L.T. McCammon Currencies of the  
Anglo-Norman Isles pp. 92, 103 .



54. list i/33/27/pp. 34, 21 (vol. 1). I have to thank Bill Gallienne for the balance idea .
55. list i/33/27/p. 320 (vol. 1)
56. Ordonnances p. 12
57. Actes des Etats de l'île de Jersey 1524-1596 p. 17 n. 1
58. list i/33/27/p. 201 (vol. 1)
59. a point agreed by C.J. Ribton-Turner A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy pp. 457f.
60. for England, see J. Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England pp. 37f.; A.L. Beier Masterless Men pp. 9-12 .
61. Ordonnances p. 6
62. Hatton p.61
63. list i/33/27/pp.9, 12 (vol.1). Sometimes the lodging of strangers was prohibited altogether, as in 1528, 1530, and 1534: list i/33/27/pp. 5, 12, 13, 20 (vol. 1).
64. G. Bois The Crisis of Feudalism p. 375 and ch. 15 passim .

65. list i/33/27/pp. 9, 12 (vol. 1). Such of the latter as is recoverable reads "Girls and women who have no ... shall be put by All Saints' Day on punishment ... and quit the country and brought ... the Court".
66. Ordonnances p. 9
67. list i/33/27/pp. 323–325 (vol. 1)
68. The ambiguity as to whether the mother or daughter was ill is in the original.
69. P. Slack Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England pp. 75–80; cf. B. Reay (ed.) Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England pp. 10–12 .
70. Cecil 207/12
71. list i/33/27/pp. 309–335 passim (vol. 1)
72. list i/33/27/pp. 314, 317, 334 (vol. 1)
73. list i/33/27/pp. 333f. (vol. 1)
74. list i/33/27/pp. 314f. (vol. 1)
75. J. Sharpe Judicial Punishment in England p. 21; regarding the cultural aspects of ear-cropping, see R. Muchembled "Lay Judges

and the Acculturation of the Masses" p. 64 .

76. list i/33/27/p. 316 (vol. 1)
77. list i/33/27/pp. 309–335 (vol. 1)
78. list iii/133/1/p.25
79. T. le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions sur l'Approbation des Lois  
ii p. 233.
80. eg. list i/33/27/p.332 (vol. 1)
81. BL Sloane 2446
82. BL Sloane 2446 f. 3v.; D.M. Ogier "The States of Guernsey in the Sixteenth Century"  
p. 46 .
83. BL Sloane 2446 f. 4r.
84. J.H. le Patourel The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands p. 65; T.W.M. de Guerin "Some Important Events in Guernsey History" pp. 100–105 .
85. BL Sloane 2446 f.5r.
86. Hatton p. 63. Considering that the parish captains were also called centeniers

alternatively it might refer to the militia organisation of men into groups of twenty or thereabouts.

87. BL Sloane 2446 ff. 4v–5r.
88. list i/33/27/p. 44 (vol. 1)
89. BL Sloane 2446 f. 3v.
90. list i/33/27/p.200 (vol. 1)
91. subject always to the vendor's family's customary right of retrait, on which see L. Carey Essai sur les Institutions, Lois et Coutumes de l'Île de Guernesey pp. 200–206. On rentes and tenure ibid. pp. 106–111 and now cf. Sark Calendar pp. 7–10.
92. eg. list ii passim
93. A.H. Ewen "Field Systems and Island History" p. 418.
94. Hatton p. 62. One Hannequyn, messier de lespynne et des capelles [districts] is named in a Court order of 1537 – list i/33/27/p.26 (vol. 1), cf. ibid. p. 31.
95. A large part of the information in the



following paragraphs derives from extended discussions with Mr J.H. Lenfestey. Besides being States Archivist he is, in a private capacity, the Seigneur of fief le Comte, and presently engaged in editing the registers of its court. I have also consulted the registers of the court of fief S. Michel (list i/76/1 ff.). The manorial business of the Royal Court in respect of fief le Roi and other Crown holdings is contained in its general registers.

96. BL Sloane 2446
97. Le Patourel The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands p. 79.
98. list ii/105/61
99. the fiefs owing suit of Court are listed by T.W.M. de Guerin "Feudalism in Guernsey" p. 65.
100. cf. H. de Sausmarez (ed.) The Extentes of Guernsey 1248 and 1331 p. 14.
101. T. Hobbes Leviathan p. 186. Hobbes was of course referring to life outside civil society.
102. K. Thomas Religion and the Decline of

Magic p. 20

103. R. Muchembled Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France p. 126; cf. C. Hill "God and the English Revolution" p. 393.
104. see, generally, J. Walter & K. Wrightson "Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England" pp. 22f.; A. Fletcher Tudor Rebellions pp. 1-8; E.M.W. Tillyard The Elizabethan World Picture passim; J.W. Allen A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century part ii, ch. 3.
105. cf. Thompson Customs in Common p. 24.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. E.J. Tardif (ed.) Coutumiers de Normandie i part 2, pp. 84f.; Terrien Commentaires du Droict Civil pp. 518f.
2. J.H. le Patourel "The Murder on Lihou Island in 1302" pp. 3f.; A. McCall The Medieval Underworld p. 100n.
3. list i/33/27/p.314 (vol. 1)
4. Statutes iii pp. 332–334; I.D. Thornley "The destruction of sanctuary" p. 201. The relevant Royal Court register survives from 1529 only, so no statistical analysis has been possible.
5. the right continued in Normandy for long after this date – Terrien Commentaires du Droict Civil pp. 518f. For Jersey examples of 1546 and 1558 see M. Syvret and J. Stevens Balleine's History of Jersey pp. 146f.
6. list i/33/27/pp.360, 364 (vol. 1)

7. Ordonnances pp. 12f.
8. list i/33/27/pp. 7, 11 (vol. 1)
9. Terrien Commentaires du Droit Civil p. 468,  
Tardif (ed.) Coutumiers de Normandie i part  
2 pp. 56f.; cf. Chroniques ch. xxviii .
10. I have suggested elsewhere that in making  
other legislation the Court may have taken  
quasi-religious attitudes into account: Ogier  
"The Royal Court and Simnel". Since  
publishing that note Ken Tough has kindly  
drawn my attention to A.C. Sarre "Simnels".  
This suggests (p. 316) on the authority of  
Frazer's Golden Bough "that the earliest  
simnels carried on them an impression of a  
religious nature, either of our Lord, the  
Virgin, or an angel etc." This may be  
thought a less fanciful explanation than mine  
as to why simnels were brought to women in  
childbed, although something of both  
explanations may be correct. Neither  
explanation diminishes my point that simnels  
had a significance in popular religion which  
the Court took into account.



11. le Patourel The Medieval Administration of the Channel Islands p. 32.
12. Coutances extracts passim .
13. Coutances extracts pp. 415, 425, 427, 411, 435.
14. Coutances extracts p. 434 .
15. although the Dean very usually presided over the Court, Carey Essai sur les Institutions, Lois et Coûtumes p. 17 states this was not an actual requirement .
16. I know of only two pre-Reformation sixteenth-century grants of probate: of the wills of Thomas de Havilland, proven in 1537 (a copy of which is in the unsorted MSS of Sir Edgar MacCulloch at the Greffe) and that of Jean le Loreur, proven in 1546 (list iii/52/5).
17. In 1507 one Jamez oliuier re[c]teur et cure de leglise parrochiale de notre dame du chatel et doyen de lille de guernesey is mentioned (list i/52/63/p. 22). He had died

by 1509 (Coutances extracts p. 434). The names of his immediate successors are lost.

18. M. Greengrass The French Reformation p. 61; J. Salmon Society in Crisis p. 83.
19. J-L Dufresne "Les Normands vus par les ecclésiastiques à la veille de la réforme" passim; D. Nicholls "The Pre-Tridentine Church in Rouen" p.188.
20. L. leR. Ladurie The Territory of the Historian p. 169.
21. J. Canu "Les Guerres de religion et le protestantisme dans la Manche" p. 227.
22. cf. B. Hamilton Religion in the Medieval West p. 113; C.S.L. Davies Peace Print & Protestantism pp. 138f.
23. J. Caley and J. Hunter (eds) Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henrici VIII, ii p. 27; F. Heal "Economic Problems of the Clergy" pp. 103f.; A.G. Dickens The English Reformation p. 77; A. Kreider English Chantries pp. 21, 23.

24. CSPD Add xii p. 44. see also list i/52/63/p. 32 where xvi gros dargent pour le servisse occurs in an executor's funeral accounts .
25. list i/52/63/p.62
26. FH 311 pp 115–125. Civil actions for the recovery of debts to the funds are also found, for example in 1527 the procureurs de clers of S. Pierre du Bois were involved in a case with one Pierres Brehault [list i/31/13/f. 5r (vol. 2)], and in 1535 James Coquerel and Martin le Goubey were in dispute a cause du procureur des clers et des poures de notre Dame du Chastell [list i/31/13/f. 43v (vol. 1)] .
27. list ii/46/289
28. list ii/87/22
29. Commission 1607 i p. 48
30. LP iv no. 5930; LP vii no. 1176; Coutances extracts pp. 443f.
31. the following section is summarized and an aspect of Guernsey's fraternities briefly

compared with others elsewhere in D.M.  
Ogier "Guernsey's Confraternities".

32. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 31; Barron "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London" p. 18 .
33. on the abundance of names which probably described like institutions see A.F. Johnston "English Guilds and Municipal Authority" pp. 69f., but cf. Barron "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London" p. 17.
34. See my note to Appendix One; cf. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People pp. 28f.
35. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 25; cf. J. Bossy Christianity in the West 1400-1700 p. 61.
36. N.Z. Davis "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion" pp. 327f.
37. list ii/115/142
38. list i/52/63/p. 28
39. list i/52/63/p. 3



40. list i/52/63/p. 32
41. list i/52/63/p.28, cf. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 20.
42. FH 311 pp. 122–124; cf. B. Desgrippes "Survivance d'une confrérie à l'Epinaye-le-Compte: 'la fïerie'"; P. Duparc "Confraternities of the Holy Spirit and Village Communities in the Middle Ages".
43. list ii/48/307
44. eg. FH 311 p. 118
45. this was often the custom in Normandy – C. Vincent "La Confrerie comme Structure d'Integration" p. 121.
46. all fraternities in Guernsey which have left appropriate records had women members, in contrast to those in some parts of France – including Rouen – which excluded or discouraged women – Davis Society and Culture in Early Modern France p. 75.
47. J. Bossy "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe" p. 58 and

passim, J. Bossy "Blood and Baptism"  
passim. There is not the slightest indication  
that "the system of formal friendship implied  
a system of formal hostility, of what one may  
loosely describe as feud" in Guernsey,  
although Professor Bossy thinks that  
"evidence for the presence of feud in late  
medieval Europe seems overwhelming and  
more or less universal" ("Blood and Baptism"  
p. 138).

48. list ii/52/326; list ii/54/346; see also the  
documents copied in list i/87/3/pp. 216–218.
49. on the function of torchlights in fraternity  
ritual see Duffy The Stripping of the Altars  
pp. 96f.; J. Fournée "Mourir en Normandie"  
p. 222.
50. list ii/p. 155
51. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English  
People p. 22. James le Feyvre, the most  
senior jurat, participated in the deed as  
Guille's lieutenant, Guille himself being  
debarred from issuing the letters patent since

he was a party to them.

52. P. Ariés The Hour of our Death p. 184, cf. R. Bruneau "La Confrérie de Charité de Bondeville-sur-Fécamp".
53. FH 311 p. 118
54. Duffy The Stripping of the Altars pp. 24f.
55. Hatton's late seventeenth-century figures state that a cabotel contained about 816 cubic inches (Hatton p. 120), cf. Sark Calendar pp. 224f. which gives about 804 cubic inches c. 1611.
56. cf. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 25.
57. list i/87/3/p.122
58. list ii/39/231
59. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 24; J. Mattingly "The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall" p. 297.
60. list i/87/3/p.122
61. list i/31/13/f.37r (vol. 4)

62. list 31/13/f. 86v (vol. 3)
63. list i/31/13/f. 42r (vol. 3)
64. Duffy The Stripping of the Altars p. 115.
65. Muchembled Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France, 1400–1750 p. 134 .
66. G.H. Cook Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels p. 9, Ariés The Hour of our Death p. 180.
67. list ii/116/156
68. R. Whiting The Blind Devotion of the People pp. 107–110.
69. FH 312 pp. 120 ff.
70. see Chapter Three below.
71. F.A. Gasquet Parish Life in Medieval England pp. 222–224; Bossy Christianity in the West 1400–1700 p. 68; Duffy The Stripping of the Altars pp. 334–337.
72. Gasquet Parish Life in Medieval England p. 224 .
73. Priaulx SR 1D



74. Priaulx SR 1E
75. Cecil 207/12
76. FH 311 pp. 115–125 passim .
77. FH 311 p. 119
78. R.W. Scribner "Cosmic Order and Daily Life"  
p. 18 .
79. list ii/36/204
80. Bossy Christianity in the West 1400–1700 p.  
70, cf. list ii/115/142 .
81. eg. in N.Z. Davis "The Sacred and the Body  
Social in Sixteenth-century Lyon".
82. list ii passim. For a rare exception – a rent  
associated with an obit which was due la  
vigille saint Laurence, see FH 311 p. 117.
83. FH 311 pp. 118–120; cf. Bossy "The Mass  
as a Social Institution 1200–1700" p. 48 .
84. list ii/115/142
85. W. Lyndwood Provinciale, seu Constitutiones  
Angliae (London, 1679) Book I, title i, ch. 2,  
quoted and translated by C. Harper–Bill The

Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400–1530; cf. Bossy Christianity in the West p. 70, Duffy The Stripping of the Altars p. 110. M. Spufford (Contrasting Communities p. 244) writes of a minister "attempting to administer Communion in both kinds ... He gave his parishioners ale to drink after administering the bread on Easter Sunday". This in fact appears to refer not to communion in both kinds but to the lesser offence of substituting beer for the customary ablution wine.

86. Bossy Christianity in the West 1400–1700 p. 70
87. list i/33/27/p. 250 (vol. 1)
88. a mynue document in the possession of the Constables and Douzaine of S. Pierre du Bois, to whom I am grateful.
89. Duffy The Stripping of the Altars pp. 28f., Gasquet Parish Life in Medieval England pp. 187, 189.
90. list i/52/63/p. 63, cf. Thomas Religion and

the Decline of Magic pp. 71–75

91. Elie Brévint's notebooks at La Seigneurie, Sark, fasc. 4, f. 3r. I am most grateful to Dr Marie Axton for supplying this quotation. Dr Axton has since arranged that the notebooks (Sark Calendar Bb/2/4) are available on microfilm at the Priaulx Library, Guernsey.
92. J.G. Frazer The Golden Bough part viii (Balder the Beautiful), i pp. 110f., 115.
93. Ordonnances pp. 145f.
94. G. Métivier Fantasies p. 86
95. M. de Garis Folklore of Guernsey p. 238, J. Stevens Cox Prehistoric Monuments of Guernsey and associated folklore pp. 26–41.
96. see Appendix One.
97. the fraternities under the protection of SS. Nicholas and Catherine may have been for young men and women respectively – cf. Davis Society and Culture in Early Modern France p. 75; Mattingly "The Medieval Parish Guilds of Cornwall" p. 291.

98. on the cult of the Crucifix see Duffy The Stripping of the Altars pp. 234–238.
99. J. Brand Observations on Popular Antiquities ii pp. 1–10; P. Goubert The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century pp. 224, 226; Muchembled Elite Culture and Popular Culture in France 1400–1750 p. 137.
100. E. MacCulloch Guernsey Folk Lore p. 160
101. Davis, "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion" pp. 327f.
102. this is to be inferred from the fact that the practice continues today.
103. list i/52/63/pp. 6, 11
104. list i/52/63/p. 17
105. list i/52/63/p. 23
106. list i/52/63/p. 24
107. list i/52/63/p. 2
108. de Guerin "Feudalism in Guernsey" pp.73f.
109. both seals are illustrated in N.V.L. Rybot "Channel Islands' Seals of a Non-heraldic or



Sub-heraldic Character, 1167–1536" plate 1.

110. N.V.L. Rybot "The Merchants' Marks of the Channel Islands" passim.
111. Agnus Dei talismans clearly were prized: Marie and Katherine Girard owned them with silver lambs (agniaux d'argent) marked on (list i/52/63/p.24). Marie le Bret was brought little luck by her agnus – it was stolen by Nicollas Jehan in 1529 (list i/33/27/p. 310 [vol. 1]). For the uses of these objects, see Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic p. 33.
112. Rybot "Channel Islands' Seals of a Non-heraldic or Sub-heraldic Character, 1167–1536" p. 466. This very handsome signet ring is presently on display in the Greffe strongroom. For its discovery see E.F. Carey Essays on Guernsey History pp. 73f.
113. list ii, introduction p. 7
114. Hatton pp. 50f.
115. BL Sloane 2446 ff.21v, 22r; le Marchant

Remarques et Animadversions i p. 88; Berry  
History of Guernsey pp. 129f.; E.F. Carey  
"The Chevauchée de Saint Michel". This  
latter name appears to have been invented  
in, or about the time of, this article.

116. Cartulaire des Iles Normandes p. 235
117. list i/76/1/f. 127r. This is the feast of the  
translation of S. Nicolas, 9 May.
118. Ordonnances pp. 30f.
119. Carey "The Chevauchée de Saint Michel"  
gives la croix des Monts, la croix de  
Jerbourg and la croix de Lihou. Mr  
Lenfestey assures me that la croix Bertrand,  
la croix Forêt, la croix des Jenemies, la croix  
Martin, la croix au Beir and la croix des  
Voyes also were passed.
120. T.W.M. de Guerin "Guernsey Crosses"  
passim. A large number of chapels also  
existed. These are listed in J. McCormack  
Channel Island Churches ch. 30. There  
were also chapels dedicated to S. Gaine,  
near to which the Royal Court sat in 1434

[list ii/99/17] and S. Eloi, mentioned in 1534  
[list i/31/13/f. 35r (vol. 4)].

121. 1581 Extente in MSS of H.M. Receiver General at IAS.
122. list ii/63/430
123. list ii/59/396
124. list ii/46/289
125. Cartulaire des Iles Normandes p. 197.  
Monstier would appear to be a transcriber's error for moustier.
126. Le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions i pp. 88–90; Ogier "The Authorship of Warburton's Treatise" p. 874 n. 4.
127. Jacqueline "Sixte IV et la piraterie dans les îles Anglo-Normandes"; Poingdestre Caesarea ch. xi; Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 ch. 5. See also C.S.L. Davies "Richard III, Henry VII and the Island of Jersey" p. 336. I am most grateful to Jason St John Nicolle for sending me a copy of this article.

The Bull is not dated 1483, as has often been asserted, eg. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485-1642 p. 43; le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 9 and more recently Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering" pp. 60ff. The date 1483 appears to have arisen from the misleading infiltration of a comma into a copy of the document – see the transcript printed in Falle An Account of the Island of Jersey. This suggestion is convincingly put in a letter of Professor C.R. Cheney on the subject, a copy of which is at IAS. The mistake is a very long-standing one – see Jacqueline "Sixte IV et la piraterie dans les îles Anglo-Normandes" p. 200. In the uncatalogued Guille MSS at IAS there is what appears to be a fifteenth-century epitome of the Bull, in French.

128. this description very closely resembles the catalogue of horrors listed by the islanders in a petition of 1304: PRO SC8/175/8719.
129. Henry VIII confirmed the Bull's terms in 1510



– list iii/6/9 [recorded in LP I no 485 (2)].

François II, Duke of Brittany recognised the Bull 20 November 1484, as did Louis XI of France 4 May 1487 (Jacqueline "Sixte IV et la piraterie dans les îles Anglo-Normandes" pp. 199f.).

130. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering" p. 69.
131. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering" p. 61.
132. list iii/93/7, printed in Falle An Account of the Island of Jersey pp. 241–243.
133. charter of Elizabeth I (1560), translation in Berry History of Guernsey p. 325.
134. R. Clark The Great Guernsey Hoax *passim*.
135. Coutances extracts p. 442.
136. list ii/40/239; list ii/41/251; list iii/62/5
137. C. Harper-Bill The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400–1530 p. 74.
138. J. Huizinga The Waning of the Middle Ages

139. L. Febvre The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century p. 336.
140. Fletcher Tudor Rebellions p. 1; cf. C. Russell "Arguments for Religious Unity in England, 1530–1650" passim .

### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Muchembled Elite Culture and Popular Culture in France p. 209.
2. Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 140f.
3. Whiting The Blind Devotion of the People p. 120.
4. Caley and Hunter (eds) Valor Ecclesiasticus ii p. 27. On the general compliance with the Valor in England see Knowles The Religious Orders in England iii ch 20 .
5. Caley and Hunter (eds) Valor Ecclesiasticus ii p. 27.
6. Cooper "Sir Richard Long" p. 214 .
7. There is a brief biographical note of Mewtis in le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 10.
8. Tupper History of Guernsey p. 143 .
9. Nicholls "The Origins of Protestantism in Normandy" p. 128 .
10. on the affair see Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 pp. 49f.; Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 141–145.

11. PRO SP15/13/25
12. PRO SP1/128/170
13. William Vaughan, quoted in P. Clark "The Alehouse and the Alternative Society" p. 47
14. Coutances extracts p. 440.
15. Statutes iv (1) pp. 24–33 .
16. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People pp. 66f.; Kreider English Chantries ch. 8.
17. Bossy "The Mass as a Social Institution" p. 42 .
18. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 36 .
19. Jersey Prison Board Case pp. 207–209
20. cf. Eagleston's remark (The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 36) that "in 1548 the rectors were ordered to bring their books and rent rolls to the Castle" which refers solely to Jersey, as referred to in Chroniques ch. xxvi .
21. E.T. Nicolle "The Capture of Sark by the French in 1549 and its Recapture in 1553, by a Flemish Corsair" passim .
22. le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 10
23. PRO SP15/27a/16



24. there is no reference to Guernsey in List of Proceedings in the Court of Requests nor Proceedings in Court of Requests vol. 1 Henry VII to Elizabeth I. Indexes.
25. G.R. Elton The Tudor Constitution pp. 187–199.
26. Cecil 207/12
27. BL Additional Charter 19812 (10 December 1548); list ii/58/389 (29 November 1549); list iii/95/2 (21 December 1549); list iii/59/22 (22 January 1553); cf. E. Carey Essays on Guernsey History p. 52. I have not traced the document there referred to.
28. the later deeds state that the Court initiated the tax, so the Captain's consent here must refer to permission given by him (as patron of the Guernsey livings) to alienate tresor funds.
29. I am struck by the parallel between these actions and the manner in which the island dealt with English demands for a "defence contribution" in the mid 1980s without compromising its constitutional status, as reported in Financial Times 17 December 1986.

30. list i/33/27/p. 203 (vol. 1)
31. it is perhaps significant that no confession des rentes documents of this period have been found – cf. C.J. Kitching "The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth" p. 65.
32. for our purposes saisie actions may be defined as that "remedy granted to a creditor when his debtor becomes insolvent" (Berry History of Guernsey p. 175) involving the attachment of realty and, often, its division between indebted parties by an electing creditor, often the principal one. The process is succinctly described in Sark Calendar pp. 13f. The classic authority is M. Gallienne Traité de la Renonciation par Loi Outrée.
33. list i/31/13/ff. 90r, 91v, 95v (vol. 1)
34. list i/31/13/ff. 100r, 100v, 101v (vol. 1)
35. list i/31/13/f. 95v (vol. 1)
36. list i/32/21/ff. 114v, 107v (Hautes vol. 2)
37. list i/32/21/ff. 120r, 122v, 124r, 126r, 127r, 128r (Hautes vol. 1)
38. list i/76/2/f. 111v (vol. 2)
39. list i/76/2/ff. 117v, 141v (vol. 2)

40. FH 311 pp. 115–125. The enquiry was referred to in the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners in 1607 – Commission 1607 i p. 58.
41. see Chapter Four.
42. FH 311 p. 125
43. list i/32/21/ff. 108r, 117v (vol 2)
44. list i/33/27/p. 209 (vol. 1). I have to thank Gill Lenfestey for answering my questions about sixteenth-century girdles and belts.
45. J.G. Davies (ed.) A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship p. 472.
46. Falle An Account of the Island of Jersey p. 437, date corrected by Bisson The Jersey Chantry Certificate 1550 pp. 10, 13 n. 49. For English attitudes, cf. Duffy The Stripping of the Altars p. 467.
47. list ii/p. 151
48. eg. T. Dicey An Historical Account of the Island of Guernsey ; G. Dupont Histoire du Cotentin et de ses Iles iii ch. 2; E. Carey The Channel Islands p. 95; J. Duncan History of Guernsey p. 329; Berry History of Guernsey p. 242, E. Pegot-Ogier Histoire des Iles de la Manche p. 310, etc. Dupont (iii, pp. 311–

313) quotes verses which describe a violent suppression of Catholicism at this time. They were written in the register of the church of S. Sauveur in Calvinist times and are superscribed Sur La Copie de Sire Guillaume pasquet (Register of baptisms, S. Sauveur 1631–38, microfilm at Priaulx). They are spurious, considering (i) their blatant untruths, for example that the church bells had been pulled down and priests burned (Au feu condannez pour leur vices), (ii) my conclusions above, and (iii) that the manuscript in which they are found contains the earliest copy of the Dedicace des Eglises which is a certain fabrication (Clark, The Great Guernsey Hoax p. 7). I have to thank Catherine Ogier for help in translating these verses.

49. eg. R. Lempriere History of the Channel Islands p. 51; E. Carey "Social Life in Guernsey in the Sixteenth Century" p. 264. The personnel of the Court did not alter radically in the period – five of the twelve jurats who were in office at the beginning of Edward's reign were still in office in 1554 (list



ii/pp. 152–156). There is no indication that the others left office other than for the usual reason ie. death.

50. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 36.
51. Statutes iv (1) p. 37
52. J. Strype Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer ii p. 416; Chroniques ch. xxvi.
53. Jersey Prison Board Case p. 207. This is a better transcript than Falle An Account of the Island of Jersey p. 436; cf. APC ii p. 412.
54. APC iii p. 263; APC iv p. 41
55. Coutances extracts p. 450
56. Statutes iv (1) p. 130
57. J.E. Cox (ed.) Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556 pp. 438f.
58. STC 16430; see also J. Loach "A Close League with the King of France".
59. list i/33/27/p. 355 (vol. 1)
60. CSP Spanish xi p. 253
61. A.G. Dickens The English Reformation p. 353.
62. le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 10

63. Chroniques ch. xxvi
64. Nicholls "The Origins of Protestantism in Normandy" pp. 61–64.
65. F. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 366; H.M. Godfray "The Early Protestant Refugees in the Channel Islands".
66. J. Crespin Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis a mort pour la verite de l'Evangile, depuis le temps des Apostres jusques à present p. 306.
67. J. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii pp. 226–241.
68. P.F. Geisendorf (ed.) Livre des Habitants de Genève i 1549–60 p. 41.
69. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre i p. 199.
70. Nicholls "The Origins of Protestantism in Normandy" p. 102; M. Prestwich "Calvinism in France, 1559–1629" p. 74.
71. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 226.
72. list i/33/27/p. 351 (vol. 1).
73. Loach "A Close League with the King of France" p. 235.
74. Loach "A Close League with the King of

France" .

75. C. Martin (ed.) "Livre des Anglois" pp. 332, 334f.; C.H. Garrett The Marian Exiles pp. 83f.
76. CSP Spanish xi p. 253. The pardon roll (PRO C67/65) is damaged and illegible in its early membranes, so the ambassadors' suggestion that Mewtis was "the first to be pardoned" cannot be tested .
77. CPR i p. 207. The appointment was repeated when Mewtis surrendered his patent in December (CPR i p. 68). Chamberlain presented his credentials to Guernsey's Royal Court 21 December 1553 [list i/33/27/p. 70 (vol. 1)]. Chamberlain's son Francis took the oath as joint captain before the Royal Court on 29 July 1555 [list i/33/27/p. 75 (vol. 1)]. On Sir Leonard Chamberlain and the Chamberlain family see A.H. Ewen "Essex Castle and the Chamberlain Family", especially pp. 233–244; see also DNB s.v. "Leonard Chamberlain".
78. list i/33/27/p. 352 (vol. 1)
79. CPR i p. 460

80. list i/33/27/p. 352 (vol. 1)
81. Geisendorf (ed.) Livre des Habitants de Genève i 1549–60 p. 41.
82. list i/33/27/p. 355 (vol. 1)
83. list i/33/27/p. 356 (vol. 1)
84. list i/33/27/p. 352 (vol. 1)
85. list i/33/27/p. 73 (vol. 1). The text of this act in the Court's register has an interesting appearance. The published version (Ordonnances p. 15) has quite the opposite sense to my reading. However, clumsy manuscript alterations make it quite apparent that the text of this ordinance was altered, presumably in the post-Catholic period, to invert its sense.
86. list i/33/27/p. 80 (vol. 1). This was in the spirit of the French Counter-Reformation: Muchembled Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France 1500 – 1750 pp. 215f.
87. see Chapter Two.
88. list i/33/27/pp. 360, 364 (vol. 1); cf. D. Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor (1990 edn) pp. 385f.
89. A.J. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 508; R. O'Day The Debate



- on the English Reformation p. 89.
90. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii pp. 230, 231  
n. 1.
  91. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 230
  92. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 226
  93. list ii/p 153; his death: [list iv]/265/1
  94. Cecil 207/12
  95. Guy Tudor England p. 303; cf. O'Day The Debate on the English Reformation p. 22
  96. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii pp. 227f.
  97. letter of the Royal Court to the Ecclesiastical Court, quoted (in translation) in Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 228.
  98. Cecil 207/12. John was a generic nickname for priests. "White" probably refers to the purity of the mass wafer, although it might refer to wheat, cf. the 1552 Prayer Book's mention of "purest wheate bread" which should be used, without superstition, for communion.
  99. Chroniques ch. xxviii
  100. D. Loades The Reign of Mary Tudor (1979 edn) p. 329.
  101. Dickens The English Reformation p. 362
  102. Dickens The English Reformation p. 382

103. Geisendorf (ed.) Livre des Inhabitants de Genève i 1549–60 p. 71; Martin (ed.) "Livre des Anglois" p. 332; Garrett The Marian Exiles pp. 83f.
104. Geisendorf (ed.) Livres des Habitants de Genève i 1549–60 p. 71.
105. see the letters copied at list i/51/53/p. 28; these were printed in A. Maulvault "La Réforme à Guernesey: observations sur une des Lettres Français de Calvin publiées par M. Jules Bonnet".
106. Martin (ed.) "Livre des Anglois" pp. 334f.
107. Coutances extracts pp. 451 (bis), 453, 454.
108. list i/31/13/f. 69v (vol. 2)
109. list i/31/13/f. 124r (vol. 1)
110. list i/32/21/f. 119r (vol. 2)
111. list i/31/13/f. 69r (vol. 2)
112. list i/31/13/f. 126r (vol. 1)
113. list i/31/13/f. 71v (vol 2); list ii/123/212
114. FH 311 pp. 115–125

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. CSPD Add vi p. 484
2. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 231
3. A.J. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 509.
4. SP15/27a/16. This is misdated in CSPD Add xii p. 42 as 1581. Internal evidence shows that it antedates the grant of Elizabeth's charter (1560) and the appointment of Commissioners. It appears in fact to refer to the islanders' request of 24 September 1559 (CSPD Add vi p. 492).
5. SP 15/9/32
6. le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 14
7. CPR ii p. 59
8. CSPD Add vi pp. 513f; CPR ii p. 114
9. CPR ii pp. 276f; cf. CSPD Add vi p. 526
10. CPR ii p. 622
11. CSPD Add vi p. 527
12. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 231

13. I have here relied on the transcript in list i/62/7/p. 72. Sir Leonard Chamberlain died in 1561: Ewen "Essex Castle and the Chamberlain Family" p. 237.
14. SP15/11/58
15. CSPD Add vii p. 48
16. This is revealed in the preamble to the accounts, where the names of the commissioners appointed both in 1562 and 1563 are listed. The date of submission is to be deduced from the letter annexed to the return, which is BL Lansdowne cxi art. 50 f. 124.

Professor le Patourel published a set of accounts (Castle Cornet p. 38) under the heading "Account of the rents etc. by the commission of May 1563 ...". In fact these also refer to the findings of more than one commission, as shown for example at p. 39 where "sundry Commissioners at iij commissions" are referred to. They are – like After's 1566 document – what they call themselves, an "Abstracte" of various



commissions' findings .

17. The Commission document calls After the dean. He was formally instituted to the office by the Bishop of Winchester as late as 14 June 1569 (G.E. Lee [ed.] "Winchester Registers") .
18. CPR iii pp. 523f .
19. list ii/65/447; on the Petit Coutume cf. de Sausmarez (ed.) The Extentes of Guernsey 1248 and 1331 p. 70 .
20. list ii/p. 151
21. CPR ii p. 59
22. list ii/124/226. Careye took the precaution to see that this conveyance was also published as letters patent under the Great Seal of England (Grefe, uncatalogued MSS of fief Blanchelande) .
23. list i/50/47/p. 65
24. Cecil 207/12
25. The Commissioners' report omits a sale by them of 1 September 1563, though this

survives as a transcript in list i/87/1/p.84 (and possibly as an original in the uncatalogued Guille MSS at IAS). By this the Commissioners transferred le Fieu de la Chapelle Saint George together with land and the manorial chapel to Thomas Fouaschin.

Otherwise the list in the Commissioners' report appears to be complete.

Some conveyance deeds or copies reflecting the transfers mentioned in the report survive in Guernsey. These are of (i) 1 September 1563 of land at S. Pierre Port to George Guille (list ii/124/225); (ii) 1 September 1563, fief S. George etc. to Thomas Fouaschin, mentioned above; (iii) 12 September 1563 of land at les Etibots, S. Pierre Port to Guillaume de Beauvoir (list i/50/47/p. 55); (iv) 20 September 1563 of the Moulin de Millyeu, S. Pierre Port to Gaspard Ollyvier (list i/50/47/p. 51); (v) 1 October 1563 of the Moulin de Haut, S. Pierre Port with the Bordage Durant and land adjoining to Thomas le Marchant (list i/50/47/p. 62); (vi)

1 October 1563 of the Bordage Cornet, S. Pierre Port to Jean Harivell (list iii/125/2); and (vii) 1 October 1563 of the Bordage Almanac, S. André to Nicolas Careye senior (list ii/125/227).

26. De Carteret was a well-known Protestant, see for example A.H. Ewen and A.R. de Carteret The Fief of Sark p. 32. He obtained the island of Sark from the Commission. His supplication to the Commissioners is described in Chroniques ch. xxxiii. Giret Ogier's Protestantism is referred to in Chapter Three above.
27. The maverick name amongst the beneficiaries of the Commission's activities is that of Nicolas Careye senior. As a Catholic and Gosselin's lieutenant under Mary, he was implicated in the Cauches affair and in trouble with the Council at this very period (Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 508). However he was the father of the Commissioner Nicolas Careye junior, and we infer that the blessings of the son were visited on the

father.

28. Cecil 207/12
29. list i/50/47/p. 55. This same document transferred the land which he is shown as buying in Appendix Two.
30. list ii/125/228; duplicated as [list iv]/96/1
31. list i/87/1/pp. 84f.,93. These are Victorian transcripts from the Guille Collection. The originals may well be in the uncatalogued Guille Collection at IAS.
32. Cecil 207/12. The charter is printed in the Enquiry into the present state and condition of Elizabeth College at Guernsey, appendix one, no. 13.
33. list ii/94/9. W. Nijenhuis (Adrianus Saravia (c.1532–1613) p. 21) is incorrect to say that the school's "financial basis was provided by the value of possessions, confiscated in 1537, of the Franciscan house dissolved by Henry VIII". Whilst the school occupied the site of the Cordeliers' friary, its revenues came from these rents seized from the laity



by Elizabeth's Commissioners.

34. list ii/67/460
35. Cecil 207/12
36. BL Lansdowne cxi art. 50 f. 129
37. an undated copy of Calvin's letter preserved in the Library of Geneva, and erroneously superscribed A un Seigneur de Jersey, was published in J. Bonnet (ed.) Lettres de Calvin ii pp. 251–253.

Eighteenth-century copies of both letters survive as list i/50/47/pp. 28ff, where they are said to be from copies in Baudouin's hand. They were published in A. Maulvault "La Réforme à Guernesey".
38. Baudouin died in 1613 aged eighty-seven years (de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 485 n. 3).
39. Geisendorf (ed.) Livre des Habitants de Genève i p. 158.
40. Cecil 207/12; cf. Chroniques ch. xxxvii
41. the previous incumbent Thomas de Beaugy was appointed to S. Samson in 1569 and

was curé at S. Michel du Valle in 1572 (Lee [ed.] "Winchester Registers"; Ordonnances p. 30). As a Catholic he had been collated to S. Pierre Port in 1556 (Coutances extracts p. 454). Whilst not one of the signatories to the sentence on the Cauches, some stigma must all the same have attached to him as the priest at the Town Church at the time of the burning. This would account for the apparent ease with which he was replaced by Baudouin.

42. FH 312 p. 306
43. Ollyvier as greffier: list i/33/27/p. 62 (vol. 1).
44. FH 312 p. 307; CPR iii pp. 523f.
45. list i/33/27/p. 87 (vol. 1)
46. Foxe Actes and Monuments viii p. 231
47. CPR i pp. 232, 188; Cecil 207/12
48. Cecil 207/12
49. list i/33/27/p. 103 (vol. 1)
50. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 509.

51. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 509.
52. BL Lansdowne cxi art 50 f. 124
53. APC vii pp. 243f; enrolled in Guernsey 12 October 1565: list i/33/27/p. 105 (vol. 1).
54. list i/33/27/p. 245 (vol. 1)
55. CPR iii p. 503, transcribed in Foxe Actes and Monuments viii pp. 231–233.
56. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565".
57. list i/33/27/p. 106 (vol. 1)
58. list i/33/27/p. 106 (vol. 1)
59. SP 15/13/25
60. list i/33/27/p. 106 (vol. 1)
61. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 508.
62. list i/33/27/p. 244 (vol. 1)
63. list i/33/27/p. 245 (vol. 1)
64. list i/33/27/p. 246 (vol. 1)

65. this was enrolled in Guernsey: list i/33/27/p.  
247 (vol. 1).
66. le Patourel Castle Cornet pp. 14–16
67. SP 15/13/27
68. list i/33/27/pp. 250f. (vol. 1)
69. list i/33/27/p. 248 (vol. 1)
70. list i/33/27/p.248 (vol. 1)
71. printed, in translation from the Latin, in Berry  
History of Guernsey pp. 324–327.
72. APC vii p. 223
73. CPR iii p. 124; CPR iv p. 82
74. list ii/94/12. The 1563 Commissioners' report  
states that they had granted Baudouin sixty  
quarters, to be collected by the Receiver  
(Cecil 207/12). Possibly he did not receive  
this, despite the Privy Council's order of 9  
June 1563 to the Commissioners to that  
effect (Chroniques ch. xxxvii).
75. list ii/94/12
76. list ii/127/242



77. list ii/127/245
78. list ii/68/468
79. list ii/67/464; 466
80. list ii/127/244; list ii/68/469
81. CSPD Add vii pp. 562f. (cf. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government. 1485–1642 p. 74); CSPD iv pp. 458f.
82. le Patourel Castle Cornet passim; cf. list i/33/27/ff. 3r–10r (vol. 2).
83. list i/33/27/pp. 251–257 (vol. 1)
84. Saravia now has his biographer: Nijenhuis, Adrianus Saravia (c.1532–1613). His career in Guernsey is treated in greater detail below.
85. quoted in N. Bernard (ed.) Clavi Trabales pp. 137f.
86. Ordonnances p. 30
87. Coutances extracts p. 453
88. Coutances extracts p. 454
89. Lee (ed.) "Winchester Registers"

90. the parishes of S. Samson and S. Michel du Valle were frequently served by the same ministers until the 19th century.
91. Coutances extracts p. 450
92. list i/33/27/p. 287 (vol. 1)
93. list i/52/63/p. 42
94. both attended the synod of 12 September 1569 but were not present at that of 9 May 1570. Saravia had been given leave to depart by the local Church 31 October 1569 (FH 312 pp. 311f.).
95. Coll. f. 3r
96. SP 15/9/53i
97. FH 312 pp. 121f.
98. list i/33/27/p. 408 (vol. 1)
99. P. McGrath Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I p. 29.
100. list i/52/63/p.14
101. G. Lewis "Calvinism in Geneva in the time of Calvin and Beza (1541–1605)" p. 39,

referring to W. Wittingham The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ (Geneva, 1557) Letter to the Reader sig. iiv.

102. list i/51/53/pp. 28 ff.
103. SP 15/11/66
104. Cecil 207/12
105. SP 15/13/25
106. BL Lansdowne cxi art 50, f. 130<sub>r</sub>
107. Cecil 207/12
108. BL Lansdowne cxi art. 50 f. 130<sub>v</sub>
109. CSPD Add vi pp. 558f; printed in full in Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c.1532–1613) pp. 265–268, save that a Greek phrase, supplied in the Calendar entry, is omitted from the transcript as printed.
110. Cecil 207/12
111. FH 312 p. 308
112. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 39.
113. P. Collinson The Religion of Protestants p.

199.

114. Saravia as translator: Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c.1532–1613) pp. 147–149.
115. Here Saravia was very likely referring to the accusations levelled by the Commissioners against the Catholic Court that it had not sufficiently punished one Collas Normant who for a murder committed had been made hangman, from which office he had promptly fled: Cecil 207/12, and see Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" passim.
116. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" passim.
117. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 510.
118. Eagleston "The Dismissal of the Seven Jurats in 1565" p. 510.
119. cf. P. Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe pp. 208–234.
120. SP15/11/66
121. BL Lansdowne cxi art 50 f.130v



122. Davis Society and Culture in Early Modern France p. 165.
123. Chroniques ch. xxxii.
124. the records of the witch trials of 1563 are list i/33/27/pp. 372, 373, 375 (bis) (vol. 1) (Martin Tulouff and Francoize Regnouff tried and sentenced to burning); ibid. p. 374 (Collette Salmon sentenced to burning); ibid. p. 376 (Collenette Gascoing banished); list i/32/26/ff. 2r–8r (vol. 1) (evidence against Francoize Regnouff and Martin Tulouff her son); ibid. ff. 16r f. (confession of Martin Tulouff). The next trials date from 1570 (list i/33/27/pp. 428 ff. (vol. 1)).

The appendix to S.C. Curtis "Trials for Witchcraft in Guernsey" pp. 135–141 lists sentences with varying degrees of accuracy. The purported sentence on Jean Thoumes of 1550 given by Curtis refers to a note scribbled in an 18th or 19th century hand at list i/32/26/f. 108v (vol. 2) and appears to have no historical basis – it may even be a squib at the expense of a contemporary of a bored Greffe clerk of the day.

125. Actes p. 362
126. T. More Utopia p. 130
127. printed in Berry History of Guernsey p. 244.  
This order also extended to S. Helier in Jersey.
128. Chroniques ch. xxxvii
129. E. Johnston (ed.) Actes du Consistoire de l'Église Française de Threadneedle Street, Londres vol. 1, 1560–1565 pp. 37, 107. I am very grateful to Andrew Spicer for sending me these extracts.
130. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 51 and ch. 6 passim.
131. FH 312 p. 310
132. on Ackworthe see DNB i p. 69.
133. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 368f. For such surprise at the English preference for Calvinism though see Tupper History of Guernsey p. 152, Heylyn The Second Journey p. 335.

134. Although both thinkers were influential in the development of theories of resistance, their starting point was a pre-eminent concern for a strict and Christian social order. This is particularly apparent in the early pages of Goodman's How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed. cf. M. Walzer The Revolution of the Saints ch. v.
135. Chroniques ch. xxxvii
136. Berry History of Guernsey p. 344
137. W. Carey et al History of the Careys of Guernsey pp. 46-50, 55-69 .
138. Berry History of Guernsey p. 344
139. Carey "Notes concerning the Owners of the various Merchants' Marks" p. 305 .
140. This is not to say that the religious sincerity of the Calvinist Royal Court should altogether be doubted, nor should the handsome amounts of property which it and its supporters obtained make one too cynical about their motivations in altering Guernsey's religious allegiance. De Beauvoir, like many

others, certainly must have considered that he had seen the future at work in Geneva, whatever his wife later thought. Indeed he, together with Effart, must be recognised as the secular leaders of the local Protestant party. Nicolas Careye junior was in later years to be censured when he protested that the new church "intrenched upon the civil Jurisdiction" (Hatton p. 12, referring to FH 312 p. 313), but overall – as we shall see in later chapters – the Court continued to pursue Calvinist policies (albeit sometimes with less enthusiasm than the Church required) for the remainder of the period covered by this study.

141. FH 312 p. 308. There is a reference at list i/33/27/p. 306 (vol. 1) that Gosselin owned livres tant de la Saint escriture que des loyx at his death, ante December 1580.
142. FH 311 pp. 122f et passim. A rent due to the Remembrances of S. Pierre du Bois in 1559 is mentioned at list iii/97/2 .
143. E.P. Thompson "Patrician Society and



Plebian Culture" p. 390. This was equally an idea common to Early Modern thought. cf., for example, Machiavelli's

Debbono ... i principi d'una republica o d'uno regno, i fondamenti della religione che loro tendgono mantenergli: e fatto questo, sarà loro facil cosa mentenere la loro republica religiosa, e per conseguente buona et unita (...the rulers of a republic or kingdom must preserve the religious foundations which support them: doing this, it will be easy for them to keep their republic religious and consequently good and united.)

Discorsi ch. xii (my translation)

Thomas Starkey similarly agreed that the successful commonwealth was underpinned by religion:

Euen as euery partycular man, when he folowyth reson, ys gouernyd by God, and contrary, blyndyd with ignorance by hys owne vayn opynyon; so hole natyonys, when they lyuve

togyddur in cyuyle ordur, instytute and  
gouernyd by resonabul pollycy, are  
then gouernyd by the prouidence of  
God, and be vnder Hys tuytyon

(A Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and  
Thomas Lupset p. 166). cf. also F. Bacon  
The Essayes p. 60 .

NOTES TO  
INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

1. M. Lelièvre Histoire du Méthodisme dans les  
Iles de les Iles de la Manche, "La Réforme  
dans les Iles de la Manche";  
A.F. Scott Pearson Thomas Cartwright and  
Elizabethan Puritanism 1535–1603;  
Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor  
Government, 1485–1642, "The Dismissal of  
the Seven Jurats in 1565", "The Quarrel  
between the Ministers and the Civil Power  
1581–5", "Guernsey under Sir Thomas  
Leighton (1570–1610)";  
de Schickler Les Églises du Refuge en  
Angleterre .
2. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en  
Angleterre ii pp. 384–386 .
3. Tupper History of Guernsey p. 156; de  
Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en  
Angleterre ii pp. 386–388 .
4. H. Robinson (ed.) The Zurich Letters  
(second series) p. 264; cf. first series, pp.  
321–323 .
5. The office of Captain increasingly came to

be called Governor in the Elizabethan era, and that usage is adopted hereafter. On Leighton's governorship see Eagleston "Guernsey under Sir Thomas Leighton (1570–1610)". Leighton has not had the biographical attention he deserves .

6. CSPD Add vii pp. 570f; on Leighton's complaint see Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 pp. 73–81; and de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 422f.
7. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 pp. 82–86; Eagleston "The Quarrel between the Ministers and the Civil Power 1581–5" pp. 422f et passim .
8. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 424–428; Coll. f. 1r ff. – the surviving Colloquy minute book commences with these appointments. Condé stayed a year (de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 442f.).
9. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 442f. .
10. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en



- Angleterre ii p. 445.
11. Coll. ff. 35v–45v
  12. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 446f.
  13. Scott Pearson Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535–1603 p. 373
  14. Scott Pearson Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535–1603 p. 160; J.E. Neale Elizabeth I p. 248; Eagleston "Guernsey under Sir Thomas Leighton (1570–1610)" p. 72. cf. S. Adams "A Godly Peer? Leicester and the Puritans" passim.
  15. A. Peel and L.H. Carlson (eds) Cartwrightiana passim.
  16. Scott Pearson Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535–1603 pp. 377f.
  17. Coll. f. 3r
  18. Coll. f. 58r
  19. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 453, 455.
  20. Lelievre "La Réforme dans les Iles de la Manche" pp. 66f.
  21. Commission 1607 ii p. 56.
  22. Coll. f. 89v.f.
  23. Cecil 207/12

24. SP 15/19/26
25. BL Harleian 7044 f. 264.
26. Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532–1613)  
p. 32, referring to H.M. Godfray (ed.)  
Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a  
Southampton p. 7. That these are the  
names of two of Saravia's Guernsey pupils  
rather weakens the evidence for Professor  
Nijenhuis' suggestion that Saravia kept a  
school in Southampton before his  
appointment to the mastership of the King  
Edward VI School there .
27. list i/33/27/f. 41v (vol. 2)
28. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en  
Angleterre ii p. 428.
29. Disc 1576 p. 324; Disc 1597 p. 6. See also  
Heylyn A Full Relation pp. 368f.
30. by the later sixteenth century the estatz were  
generally known by this more modern form,  
which I adopt hereafter .
31. Coll. ff. 55v, 70r, 71r (bis)
32. list i/33/27/f. 159r (vol. 2); Actes p. 16
33. de la Marche's notebook, in W. Rolleston  
(ed.) "Jean de la Marche, 1585–1631" (sic,  
for 1651) pp. 195f. Coll. ff. 94v, 95r, 96v;

Actes pp. 11, 25, 31, 32, 47. De Schickler says that Fautrart's father Helier was educated at Geneva at Guernsey's expense in 1581, but that he went on to serve a Jersey parish: de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 436 .

34. É. Labrousse "Calvinism in France, 1598–1685" p. 288 .
35. Coll. ff. 94v, 95v, 96v; Actes pp. 31, 39, 41, 51, 54, 56 .
36. Actes p. 60, cf. ibid. p. 54
37. Actes pp. 47, 58, 60f., 63. M.R. Bielby "Three Seventeenth-century Clergymen" p. 24. This article gives biographies of three generations of Picot ministers. In the Civil War Thomas' millenarianism and alleged anabaptism led to his banishment .
38. Actes p. 125
39. Actes p. 178
40. cons SM; Actes p.295. De la Place, with Jean de la Marche, was in England as one of the island's delegates to the Westminster Assembly of Divines at this period .
41. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 128

42. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 129 and ch. xii passim. Lelièvre "La Réforme dans les Iles de la Manche".
43. Actes pp. 35f.; APC xxxiii pp. 251–255.
44. Actes p. 34
45. Coll. f. 103v., cf. Coll. ff. 104v, 106v,f., 108r, 112r, 113r
46. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 140.
47. de la Marche's notebook, in Rolleston (ed.) "Jean de la Marche, 1585–1631" (sic for 1651), corrected by reference to the original: list i/54/83/p. 227.
48. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government 1485–1642 p. 141.
49. The document is printed in F.B. Tupper Chronicles of Castle Cornet pp. 45f.. The date, 23 April 1637, is supplied from the copy at the PRO: CSPD Add xxiii p. 556.
50. Danby supported the existing settlement in spite of the misgivings of his chaplain Peter Heylyn, who accompanied the Governor on his one known visit to Guernsey in 1629. Heylyn in that year or shortly afterwards



wrote an account hostile to Guernsey's Church, namely the second part of A Full Relation, which was dedicated to Laud. See especially ch. i and ch.s iv–viii. On Heylyn's Laudian standpoint see DNB s.v. "Heylyn" and R. O'Day The Debate on the English Reformation pp. 32–38.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. F. Wendel Calvin: the origins and development of his religious thought p. 299.
2. H. Schilling "'History of Crime' or 'History of Sin'" p. 297.
3. eg. Institutes iv.12.5, iv.20.5; cf. T.H.L. Parker John Calvin: a biography p. 60; B. Hall John Calvin: humanist and theologian p. 25.
4. FH 312 p. 314
5. on hierarchy in the Church see also de la Marche A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners p. 62.
6. A. McGrath A Life of John Calvin p. 112; cf. W. Monter "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559–1569" passim; G. Sunshine "French Protestantism on the Eve of St-Bartholomew" p. 341.
7. McGrath A Life of John Calvin p. 267.
8. Prestwich "Calvinism in France, 1555–1629" p. 84.

9. M. Greengrass The French Reformation p. 29.
10. FH 312 p. 306
11. ie. the date from which the Colloquy minutes survive. S. Pierre du Bois may have been the first parish outside S. Pierre Port to have a Calvinist regime. Nicolas le Mesurier was appointed an elder there – by S. Pierre Port consistory – on 27 May 1563: FH 312 p. 306.
12. Disc (trans) pp. 19f. The publication of this translation clearly was related to the English debate at the time about the best form of Church government with which to replace the discredited Laudian Anglicanism, and offers a Presbyterian solution. Its appearance may also be connected with the presence in England of the Guernsey ministers Jean de la Marche and Samuel de la Place, who were members of the Westminster Assembly, which began in 1643. They arrived in London in 1641, and de la Marche recorded that he was nominated to the Assembly in April 1642 (de la Marche's

notebook in Rolleston (ed.) "Jean de la Marche, 1585–1631" [sic for 1651] pp. 205, 210). De la Marche's A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners similarly advocates a Presbyterian alternative to the rule of bishops.

13. Disc 1576 p. 314.
14. Disc (trans) p. 3
15. Disc (trans) p. 5
16. eg. Coll. f. 99v, where in 1613 the Governor's approval of a new minister for S. Pierre Port is recorded, and the proposants Jean de la Marche and Daniel Fautrart sent to preach at two and three parishes respectively.
17. APC xii pp. 311f
18. list i/33/27/p. 308 (vol. 1)
19. CSPD Add xii pp. 43f
20. Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 pp. 74–89.
21. list i/33/27/f. 41v (vol. 2)



22. list i/32/26 ff. 71v–74r (vol. 2)
23. list i/32/26/p. 107 (vol. 4)
24. cons SM 1627–1649 passim
25. Wendel Calvin: the origins and development of his religious thought p. 304; Greengrass The French Reformation p. 30.
26. Disc (trans) p. 7
27. Disc 1576 p. 325
28. Disc 1576 p. 325
29. Disc (trans) p. 3
30. Disc (trans) pp. 7f., cf. FH 312 p. 134
31. Disc (trans) pp. 25f
32. Disc (trans) p. 7
33. Disc (trans) p. 8
34. Disc (trans) pp. 8f
35. Disc (trans) p. 19
36. I have borrowed the phrase "the examined life" from the title of Chapter One of P. Seaver Wallington's World.

37. ie. cons SA and cons SM. This latter is not paginated. When referring to it in this and succeeding chapters I have made every effort to cite the dates of respective entries in the text.
38. FH 312 pp. 306–320; cf. D.M. Ogier "The Authorship of Warburton's Treatise" p. 873 and n. 7.
39. FH 312 p. 306
40. cons SA p. 33; cf. Coll f. 4v
41. FH 312 p. 311
42. cons SA p. 36
43. FH 312 p. 309; cf. McCormack Channel Island Churches pp. 166f.
44. FH 312 pp. 306f.
45. FH 312 p. 308
46. cons SA p. 43
47. Coll f. 90v
48. Coll. f. 96v
49. G.E. Lee (ed.) Note-book of Pierre Le Roy

- p. 11.
50. FH 312 p. 309
  51. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 370.
  52. J. Duncan The History of Guernsey p. 345
  53. de la Marche A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners p. 61.
  54. Disc 1597 p. 17; cf. Disc (trans) p. 12
  55. Disc 1576 p. 339; Disc (trans) p. 19; cf J.E. Neale The Age of Catherine de Medici p. 19.
  56. minor offences were to be corrected by private admonitions in accordance with Matthew xviii; cf. Institutes iv.12.3; R. Kingdon "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva" p. 10; de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 417.
  57. Disc (trans) p. 19
  58. Disc 1576 p. 347
  59. Disc (trans) p. 17
  60. Disc (trans) p. 18
  61. de la Marche A Complaint of the False

Prophets Mariners p. 62.

62. de la Marche A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners pp. 59f.
63. Coll. passim
64. Disc 1576 p. 347; Disc (trans) p. 20
65. Disc (trans) p. 20
66. de la Marche A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners p. 62.
67. FH 312 pp. 309–311
68. FH 312 p. 313
69. prophesying also occurred in Guernsey – de Schickler Les Eglises du Réfuge en Angleterre ii p. 410, iii pp. 357–360; Coll. f. 4v.; de la Marche A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners sig. a. For England see Collinson The Religion of Protestants p. 51
70. a full list of recorded synods, both before and after reconciliation with Jersey is as follows:  
  
1564, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1574, 1575 (FH 312 pp. 307–315), and 1605 (ibid.



p. 320)

1596, 1599, 1605, 1611, 1613 (Coll. ff. 50v–51v, 57v, 75r, 93v, 99r. This last was not held – see Eagleston The Channel Islands under Tudor Government, 1485–1642 p. 131)

The other synods cited in the text are referred to in Jersey minutes ff. 89v, 100r, 108r, 108v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 119r, 120v–121r, 140v, 141r, 141v, 147v, 149r, 149v, 175\*v

Some record survives of the proceedings of the synods of 1597, 1599, 1601, 1605 and 1609 in list i/55/97, 98. The delegates to the 1605 synod are named in FH 312 p. 320.

71. Disc (trans) p. 21
72. FH 312 pp. 306f.
73. cf. Allen A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century pp. 60–63.
74. Disc (trans) pp.1f; cf. Disc 1576 pp. 313f.; de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 396; Hall John Calvin: humanist and theologian p. 24.

75. Disc (trans) p. 2; cf. Disc 1576 p. 313; Coll. ff. 23r–24v; Institutes ii.8.11–12.
76. cf. Hall John Calvin: humanist and theologian p. 24.
77. Disc (trans) p. 18
78. FH 312 p. 312
79. Coll. f. 22v, printed in de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 442; cf. Disc 1576 pp. 362–365.
80. these and the following statistics are drawn from a reading of the Colloquy minutes .
81. FH 312 pp. 306, 307, 309, 311
82. Coll. f. 95r
83. Coll. ff. 90r–123r passim. Carew is known to have visited Guernsey on a single occasion, in 1610 – le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 25.
84. Tupper History of Guernsey p. 572; le Patourel Castle Cornet p. 25 .
85. Tupper History of Guernsey pp. 238f.
86. see the Introduction to Part Two, above .

87. FH 312 p. 308
88. FH 312 pp. 308f
89. FH 312 p. 310
90. Disc 1576 p. 355
91. Disc 1597 p. 1
92. Coll. ff. 8r, 9r, 26r, 50v, 69v, 56v
93. Coll. ff. 106v, 107r, 104r
94. Coll. f. 3r and 3r–13r passim
95. Coll. ff. 12r, 54r, 54v
96. Coll. ff. 82v–85v, 87v
97. Coll. ff. 90r–123r. The exceptions are at ff. 92r (bis), 93v and 95r.
98. Chroniques ch. xliv; G.R. Balliene Δ Biographical Dictionary of Jersey p. 121.
99. list i/33/27/p. 471 (vol. 1); for the similar Jacobean version see list i/33/27/f. 378r (vol. 2).
100. Coll. f. 33v, where a forthcoming meeting is referred to.

101. Ogier "The States of Guernsey in the Sixteenth Century" p. 49.
102. R. Hocart An Island Assembly p. xi .
103. Actes pp. 5–36 passim .
104. Coll. ff. 96v, 97r
105. eg. Actes pp. 43, 45, 46, 48, 49
106. Actes p. 62
107. Actes pp. 77, 96
108. Actes p. 70
109. Actes pp. 127, 68. As mentioned above, de la Place appears to have combined his clerical career with medicine .
110. eg. Actes pp. 39, 43, 44, 70, 149, 163
111. Disc (trans) p. 9
112. G.R. Elton Reformation Europe pp. 236–238 .



## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. in one instance a synod went so far as to quote the French Coustumier de Normandie to the Court as an authority – FH 312 p. 310.
2. FH 312 pp. 309f
3. Ordonnances pp. 23f.
4. Ordonnances pp. 81–112. A similar collection of seventy-two articles had been laid down in 1581 (Ordonnances pp. 36–51) but was not absorbed into the island's constitution as was the Code of 1611.
5. Assemblies of Chefs Plaids annually provided that the 1611 Code should stay in force: list i/33/27/ff. 256v–378r (vol. 2) passim, ibid. ff. 1r–40v (vol. 3) passim [1631–40]. For the Civil War period and beyond see le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions passim.
6. This chapter lists criminal convictions in these areas in the period 1611–35. The information is largely drawn from the Royal Court series Crime vols three and four. Whilst the great majority of criminal cases are found in this series, some do crop up in

others, for example Amerci et Vers, Vers en Meubles, Vers en Plaids etc. Thus to make a full statistical presentation would necessitate ploughing through several thousand pages of largely irrelevant MSS. Even then some cases would escape notice, because in many instances the commencement of criminal proceedings are noticed in the Crime register, and then disappear from the surviving written record. The statistics given here nonetheless serve their purpose of illustrating trends and preoccupations.

Prosecutions for paillardize – treated below – are an exception, with full, or nearly full, records from 1565. This is because paillardizes, apparently invariably, were entered in the early period exclusively in the series Jugements, Records et Ordres en Conseil and later exclusively in Crime. Convictions for paillardize therefore lend themselves to statistical analysis, as shown in Appendix Four, which is discussed later in this chapter.

7. J. Bossy "The Character of Elizabethan Catholicism" pp. 39, 57 n.1 states that the author draws the concept of "survivalism" from A.G. Dickens "The First Stages of Romanist Recusancy in Yorkshire" Yorkshire Archeological Journal xxxv (1941) p. 181.
8. Disc (trans) p. 10
9. Heylyn A Full Relation pp. 370, 289.  
Heylyn's quotation tantum religio potuit suadere paraphrases Lucretius' "such [crimes] has religion caused".
10. Coll. f. 25r
11. Coll. f. 35r. list i/33/27/f. 93r (vol. 2). That this was the jurat is further suggested by the use of the title monsieur which was accorded only to men of the highest status, almost exclusively jurats and ministers. The Colloquy in fact allowed the interment of Governors and their families in church buildings (Coll. f. 8v) and Leighton, for all his Puritan sympathies, was buried in S. Pierre Port Church, as its register reveals:

Misire Thomas Leygthon Chevalier et  
gouverneur en ceste Ile de guerneze

apres avoir heureusement gouverne  
ceste ditte Ile par l'espace de  
quarante ans moins quatre mois a  
este enterre de dans le temple de  
Saint pierre port Le Jeudi premier Jour  
du mois de febvrier mil six cens et  
neuf [1609/10]

(Priault: microfilm of S. Pierre Port register).

At a date nearly contemporary with this entry  
a wag has interlined the words tres mal  
before heureusement. Whilst the jurat Jean  
Blondel or his family may like Leighton have  
been more concerned with expressing status  
than Catholic sentiments, the action of  
illegally burying him in the church must at  
least be viewed as anti-Calvinist.

12. Commission 1607 i p. 62
13. FH 312 p. 309
14. Ordonnances p. 23
15. the profonde fosse, more commonly called  
the basse fosse, was traditionally  
remembered as an "exceedingly damp and  
unwholesome" dungeon (Tupper History of  
Guernsey p. 355). The name is not



encountered before c. 1600 and is reminiscent of French scripture's description of the pit (called a basse fosse) in which "there was no water, but mire" into which Jeremiah was lowered (Jeremiah xxxviii 6). It is possible that the dungeon – which may have been open from above – was named in Calvinist times after the Biblical precedent. I have to thank Dr Harry Tomlinson for drawing my attention to this .

16. list i/31/15/f. 70v (vol. 3). A marginal note records that the fine was paid .
17. 1571: Ordonnances p. 28; 1574: list i/33/27/p. 141 (vol. 1). The identification of idolatry with Catholic artefacts and practices alike was a Protestant commonplace – R. Clifton "Fear of Popery" pp. 146f; Hobbes Leviathan p. 670 .
18. list i/33/27/p. 276 (vol. 1)
19. E. Roberts and K. Parker (eds) Southampton Probate Inventories 1447–1575 pp. xxvii, xxix .
20. Such preservation, and sometimes purchase, of ecclesiastical paraphernalia made with similar hopes occurred in England:

- Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People pp. 100–104, 121.
21. list i/33/27/f. 42v (bis) (vol. 2), list i/32/26/ff. 29v–31v (vol. 2).
  22. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries 27 November 1913, reprinted in TSG vii (1914) pp. 117–121. It appears that a cruet of c. 1530 was buried at the chapel of Ste Appoline and a chalice of c. 1525 (the fellow of these latten objects?) was buried in the rectory garden at S. Samson – R. Mayne Channel Islands Silver p. 18.
  23. list i/31/15/f.165v (vol. 3)
  24. Coll. f. 4r
  25. list i/33/27/p. 271 (vol. 1)
  26. list i/33/27/f. 54v (vol. 2)
  27. Statutes iv (i) pp. 657f.
  28. McGrath Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I p. 187.
  29. Coll. f. 91r
  30. list ii/ p. 156
  31. list i/32/26/p. 60 (vol. 3)
  32. list i/32/26/p. 227 (vol. 4)
  33. Coll. f. 68r
  34. Ordonnances pp. 126–128
  35. list i/33/27/f. 100r (vol. 2)

36. Ordonnances p. 81
37. Coll. f. 110v
38. cf. A. Dures English Catholicism 1558–1642  
p. 3.
39. cf. Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic ch. 2.
40. Coll. f. 20v. cf. Fournée "Mourir en Normandie" pp. 220–222; I. Opie and M. Tatem A Dictionary of Superstitions svv. "Candle, funeral" and "Candle, holy".
41. Bossy Christianity in the West 1400–1700  
pp. 27f; cf. Ariès The Hour of our Death pp. 146–148.
42. Coll. f. 81v. cf. Opie and Tatem A Dictionary of Superstitions s.v. "Water, holy"; The Life of Saint Teresa of Avila by Herself p. 223.
43. Coll. f. 35r
44. Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic p. 43; A. Wilson "The Ceremony of Childbirth and its interpretation" passim.
45. Ordonnances p. 145
46. Ordonnances p. 153
47. list i/33/27/ff. 20r.f. (vol. 3)
48. Sark Calendar Bb/2/4. I am grateful to Dr Marie Axton for supplying a transcript of this

entry from fasc. 4 f. 3r of Brévint's notebooks. Dr Axton has now lodged a microfilm of Brévint's writings at the Priaux Library, Guernsey.

The custom of brandones persisted in Alderney until the early nineteenth century: see L.L. Clarke The Island of Alderney p. 53.

It has also been suggested from what was apparently an alternative name – the jour des vitres – that masking may have been involved: MacCulloch Guernsey Folk Lore p. 44. MacCulloch presumably derives \*vitres from the medieval Latin visera, but I cannot find the occurrence of the former in Guernsey or France .

49. eg. list i/33/27/f. 17v (vol. 3) and see below.
50. Disc (trans) p. 9. cf. Disc 1576 p. 337
51. Ordonnances p. 19
52. FH 312 p. 135; Ordonnances p. 32
53. list i/33/27/p. 148 (vol. 1)
54. list i/33/27/f. 62r (vol. 2)
55. list i/33/27/f. 93r (vol. 2)
56. Ordonnances pp. 82f
57. FH 312 p. 309
58. Ordonnances p. 23



59. list i/33/27/p. 150 (vol. 1)
60. list i/33/27/p. 120 (vol. 1)
61. list i/33/27/p. 150 (vol. 1)
62. list i/33/27/p. 151 (vol. 1)
63. list i/33/27/ff. 62r, 93r (vol. 2).  
Fishmongering at this time had been  
prohibited in 1580: list i/33/27/p. 163 (vol. 1) .
64. Ordonnances p. 83
65. Coll. f. 4r
66. Coll. ff. 9r.f.
67. Coll. ff. 13r.f.
68. Coll. ff. 20r–20v
69. Coll. f. 64v. cf. ibid. f. 61r (1600)
70. Coll. f. 105v
71. list i/33/27/p. 151 (vol. 1)
72. list i/32/26/p. 126 (vol. 3)
73. list i/32/26/p. 201 (vol. 3)
74. list i/32/26/p. 68 (vol. 3)
75. list i/32/26
76. list i/32/26/p. 43 (vol. 3). Three re-offenders  
were given twice twenty-four hours, the  
others half that time .
77. list i/32/26/p. 78 (vol. 3)
78. list i/32/26/p. 369 (vol. 3)
79. list i/32/26/pp. 128, 388, f. 395r (vol. 3)
80. eg. re. le Marchant: Coll. 107v, 108r, 109v,

119v, 122r; re. Gosselin: Coll. ff. 115v, 116v,  
118r, 119v, 122v

81. Coll. ff. 54r, 68r
82. cons SA passim
83. cons SA p. 40
84. cons SA p. 46
85. cons SA p. 46
86. cons SA p. 38
87. cons SA pp. 20, 41
88. cons SA p. 44
89. cons SM passim. This survives as a collection of folios pasted in an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century notebook. Its incompleteness is indicated by a multiplicity of entries for some years and long periods between others. As mentioned above, the record is unpaginated and items must be located by date.
90. Ordonnances p. 83. The ordinance concerning bargains had first been laid down in 1605, when the fine was set at sixty sous tournois: Ordonnances p. 68 .
91. list i/33/27/p. 137 (vol. 1)
92. list i/33/27/p. 153 (vol. 1)
93. list i/33/27/f. 164r (vol. 2)

94. list i/32/26/p. 30 (vol. 3)
95. Coll. f. 111r
96. list i/33/27/f. 287r (vol. 2)
97. Ordonnances p. 157
98. list i/32/26/pp. 46, 373 (vol. 3). One of the three was further charged with milling at indue times at night .
99. list i/32/26/p. 104 (vol. 4)
100. cons SA p. 44
101. Pitart was alleged to have said that milling was allowed on Sundays in England and adding, perhaps irrelevantly, that he believed in the Old Testament more than the New, and that the Apostles themselves had been subject to sin .
102. Coll. f. 51v
103. Coll. f. 35r
104. Coll. f. 93r
105. Coll. f. 51v
106. Lelièvre Histoire du Méthodisme dans les Iles de la Manche ch. 5.
107. Coll. f. 61r
108. Coll. f. 118r
109. Coll. f. 122v
110. Ordonnances p. 144. cf. Coll. f. 33r, which condemns the Court for holding secular

meetings in churches, a thing also  
reprehended by the Discipline: Disc (trans) p.  
10 .

111. see Chapter One above .
112. list i/33/27/p. 147 (vol. 1)
113. list i/33/27/f. 137r (vol. 2)
114. list i/33/27/ff. 373v.f. (vol. 2). The Royal  
Commission of 1607 in the meantime had  
ordered "that neither the Bailiff nor any of the  
Jurats shall be a common brewer, to the end  
to sell any beer or ale in any wise" –  
Commission 1607 i p. 28 .
115. Ordonnances p. 98
116. list i/33/27/pp. 120, 147 (vol. 1)
117. list i/33/27/p. 163 (vol. 1)
118. list i/33/27/ff. 42r, 165r (vol. 2)
119. P. Clark The English Alehouse p. 40
120. there is no obvious pattern in convictions  
1611–35 [list i/32/26/vol. 3 passim, list  
i/32/26/pp. 1–127 (vol. 4)]. They are by date  
and number (in brackets) as follows: 1612  
(1), 1614 (2), 1615 (4), 1617 (1), 1619 (3),  
1620 (5), 1621 (1), 1622 (1), 1623 (1), 1624  
(1), 1627 (1), 1628 (1), 1629 (1). In the  
period 1630–35 no convictions are recorded,



though the commencement of two prosecutions (one of a woman, Marie Rollant, taverniere) occurs in 1635 .

121. FH 312 p. 310; Ordonnances p. 24
122. list i/33/27/f. 99r (vol. 2)
123. Ordonnances p. 84
124. list i/32/26/p. 117 (vol. 4)
125. list i/32/26/pp. 338, 343 (vol. 3)
126. cons SA p. 44
127. Coll. f. 86r
128. Coll. f. 92v, cf. ibid. f. 74r
129. Emmison Elizabethan Life: disorder p. 218  
and ch. xix passim .
130. Coll. f. 13r
131. Coll. f. 20r
132. Coll. f. 20v
133. Ordonnances p. 23
134. list i/33/27/p. 120 (vol. 1). Tables is defined  
by Dr Emmison (Elizabethan Life: disorder p.  
219) as backgammon, but the O.E.D.  
definition would not exclude other board  
games like draughts etc.
135. list i/33/27/p. 149 (vol. 1)
136. Ordonnances p. 53
137. Sharpe Judicial Punishment in England p.  
22; M. Ingram Church Courts, Sex and

138. list i/33/27/f. 62r (vol. 2)
139. list i/33/27/f. 161r (vol. 2)
140. Ordonnances pp. 99, 103
141. Ordonnances p. 116. The action of Josias le Marchant against Samuel le Marchant in 1624, recorded at list i/32/26/p. 262 (vol. 3), appears to concern the latter's gambling contrary to the terms of a bond given to the former. The Court ordered Samuel to pay Josias three escus twenty sous and a like sum to the relief of Phillipe le Poitevin of Poole and Pierre de Beaugi "formerly prisoners [of Barbary pirates?] in Turkey". The Court went on to warn Samuel not to play games of hazard in future.
142. list i/32/26/p. 33 (vol. 4). The other, of 1619, is at list i/32/26/p. 127 (vol. 3).
143. list i/32/26/p. 7 (vol. 3)
144. list i/32/26/p. 22 (vol. 3)
145. list i/32/26/p. 79 (vol. 3)
146. list i/32/26/p. 320 (vol. 3). Calvin himself is known to have enjoyed a game of quoits (M.M. Knappen Tudor Puritanism p. 438), although presumably he did not play for

money or on the Sabbath, one or both of which offences were the subject of the sentence referred to here .

147. list i/32/26/p. 181 (vol. 3)
148. list i/32/26/p. 296 (vol. 3)
149. list i/32/26/f. 412v (vol. 3)
150. cons SA p. 43
151. cons SA p. 47
152. de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii p. 426 n. 2 .
153. P. Merlin XXVI Sermons sur le livre d'Ester (La Rochelle, 1591) quoted (in French) in J. Garrisson-Estebe Protestants du Midi 1559–1598 p. 303 .
154. P. Stubbes Anatomy of Abuses p. 155 .
155. George Gascoigne, quoted – without reference – in C. Camden The Elizabethan Woman pp. 165f. This work has an interesting description of fashions in dancing at pp. 162–168.
156. L. Stone The Family, Sex and Marriage p. 558. For a graphic confirmation of this, see N.Z. Davis Fiction in the Archives illustration 9 .
157. Ordinance of the Seneschal of Limoux,

- Languedoc, 1666, quoted in Burke Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe p. 212 .
158. Camden The Elizabethan Woman p. 165
  159. H. Roberts An earnest complaint of divers vain wicked and abused exercises practised on the Saboth day (1572) sig. E6r, quoted in Collinson The Religion of Protestants p. 225.  
cf. J. Goring Godly Exercises or the Devil's Dance? p. 12 .
  160. cf. T. Robisheaux "Peasants and Pastors" p. 289 .
  161. Coll. f. 4r; cf. D. Underdown Revel Riot and Rebellion pp. 47–52, R. Mentzer "Ecclesiastical Discipline and Communal Reorganization among the Protestants of Southern France" p. 172 .
  162. Ordonnances p. 19
  163. Ordonnances p. 24
  164. list i/33/27/p. 135 (vol. 1)
  165. list i/33/27/p. 148 (vol. 1)
  166. list i/33/27/f. 62r (vol. 2)
  167. Ordonnances p. 85
  168. list i/32/26/p. 328 (vol. 3)
  169. list i/32/26/f. 417r (vol. 3)
  170. Coll. ff. 74r, 75r



171. list i/32/26/p. 52 (vol. 4)
172. see now D. Underdown Fire from Heaven  
pp. 79–82
173. Coll. f. 13v
174. Coll. f. 20r. The word translated as  
"displace" is esgarent: "to lead astray".
175. Coll. f. 61r
176. list i/33/27/f. 62v (vol. 2)
177. list i/32/26/pp. 151, 154 (vol. 3)
178. list i/33/27/f. 80v (vol. 2)
179. list i/32/26/p. 255 (vol. 3)
180. list i/32/26/p. 286 (vol. 3)
181. list i/32/26/p. 312 (vol. 3). I have stressed  
the use of the verb chevaucher, since it  
perhaps indicates a festive connection – as  
in the Chevauchée du Roi (see Chapter  
Two) and the chevauchée d'ane, the local  
name for rough music.  
  
The Moulin d'Hyvreuse windmill on the hill  
above S. Pierre Port is shown in the  
frontispiece.
182. list i/32/26/p.31 (vol. 4)
183. list i/33/27/f. 165v (vol. 2)
184. list i/33/27/f. 3r (vol. 3). Some foreigners  
may of course have been more pious than

local youths – cf. the case of Ignatius Jordan who came to Guernsey c. 1576 and was converted to the Puritanism which characterised his later life: F. Nicolls The Life and Death of Ignatius Jordan pp. 1–2, 22. I am grateful to Bernard Capp for drawing this to my attention.

185. list i/33/27/f. 17v (vol. 3)
186. list i/33/27/f. 30v (vol. 3)
187. 1623 seems to have seen a particularly bountiful harvest for the thieves, if not the fruit growers: list i/32/26/pp. 252ff. (vol. 3), cf. ibid. ff. 410r; 419r. Note also Bunyan's Mr Badman, who "to rob Orchards, and Gardens, and to steal Pullen, and the like, these he counted Tricks of Youth ...": J. Bunyan The Life and Death of Mr Badman p. 38.
188. cons SA pp. 42f
189. although the consistory records call the crime grandement heineus, the register also has the note sencure leuée, indicating that the offenders made their peace with the Church.
190. J. Rossiaud "Prostitution, sex and society in

French towns in the fifteenth century" p. 84;  
cf. J. Rossiaud "Prostitution, Jeunesse et  
Société dans les Villes du Sud-est au XVe  
Siècle" pp. 297f .

191. Cecil 207/12
192. list i/33/27/p. 151 (vol. 1)
193. list i/55/98
194. Coll. f. 61r. In 1611 the Court prohibited  
"mariners, butchers, or tradespeople of  
whatever condition" from giving banquets or  
receptions for individuals coming into  
partnership or becoming journeymen,  
(deffendu ... de faire aucunes hanses ou  
dependences quelconques pour estre receus à  
leur loth ou exercer leur mettier).  
(Ordonnances p. 106).

G. Métivier Dictionnaire Franco-Normand is  
as over-ingenious in its discussion of the  
word hànsaïr as it is of the word loth. The  
former clearly is the same – or has a  
common origin with – the English hanse (an  
association) found in the OED (Medieval  
Latin hansa), which usually referred to a  
group associated by a common trade, and  
so in Guernsey in turn came to describe the

celebrations given on an individual joining that trade. The word loth means simply "lot" in the sense of a share, and in the instance quoted here refers to a share in the work or business.

195. Coll. ff. 103r.f

196. Ordonnances pp. 131f

197. the tradition of holding some of these banquets was perhaps the equivalent of English "bride ales" and other "ales" which were organised to raise money for those in whose honour they were given. It appears however that in Guernsey, the expense, for drink if not for food, was the responsibility of the hosts themselves. See J. M. Bennett "Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England" passim.

198. cf. Bennett "Conviviality and Charity in Early Modern England" pp. 35f.

199. although English Puritans keenly condemned the churching of women (Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic pp. 68f.) the Guernsey Church accomodated relevailles, presumably by reference to Leviticus xii 16. Calvin's discussion of this part of Leviticus



(Institutes IV.14.20) does not condemn the rite .

200. ie. I have found nothing in the Royal Court registers in the period up to 1635. Some prosecutions for keeping people drinking at offenders' houses on the Sabbath may however refer to parties of these sorts .

201. Spufford Contrasting Communities p. 255

202. FH 312 p. 309

203. Ordonnances p. 23

204. Disc 1576 p. 337

205. list i/33/27/f. 93r (vol. 2)

206. R. Gough The History of Myddle p. 78. cf. Collinson The Religion of Protestants p. 141; Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People p. 173; Emmison Elizabethan Life: morals and the church courts pp. 130–136 .

207. que cest pour la dosann – the French of the register at this time is somewhat idiosyncratic, and appears to have been kept by patois speaking elders rather than a university-educated minister .

208. list i/32/26/p. 88 (vol. 3). On "hat honour" see N.Z. Davis Fiction in the Archives: pardon tales and their tellers in sixteenth-

century France pp. 38, 101, 171 n. 13

209. list i/32/26/p. 201 (vol. 3)
210. cf. list i/32/26/p. 184 (vol. 3) which is a case in 1621 where a jurat, Jean Blondel, complained that the minister Thomas Milet junior refused to accept him standing as a godfather que le dyt Sieur Blondel nestoit point en charite. The Court remitted the matter to the Colloquy.
211. for several general examples see list i/32/26/f. 34 f. (vol. 4).
212. list i/32/26/p. 27 (vol. 3)
213. list i/33/26/p. 186 (vol. 3)
214. list i/32/26/p. 241 (vol. 3)
215. list i/32/26/pp. 305, 312 (vol. 3). Professor Davis (Fiction in the Archives p. 101) finds in French pardon tales that "women's hats do not play the same symbolic or narrative roles as hats do in the mens' tales", all the same, in this case and in the other unhatting incident referred to above, it is clear that the removal of a woman's hat was a specific and symbolic insult .
216. list i/32/26/pp. 85, 87 (vol. 3)
217. list i/32/26/p. 110 (vol. 3)

218. list i/32/26/p. 101 (vol. 4)
219. list i/32/26/pp. 85, 86, 89 (vol. 4)
220. list i/32/26/p. 36 (vol. 4). cf D. Cressy "The Protestant Calendar and the vocabulary of celebration in Early Modern England" pp. 45–47 et passim; D. Cressy Bonfires & Bells: national memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England p. 59 .
221. Nijenhuis Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532–1613) p. 266 .
222. list i/33/27/p. 446 (vol. 1)
223. list i/33/27/f. 145r (vol. 2)
224. cf. the deliberate (in these cases radically Protestant) iconoclastic gestures of urinating in fonts at Worcester Cathedral and Yaxley (Hunts.) during the Civil War, and the 1659 allegation against Quakers that they had defecated on an altar. In these instances, as in Guernsey, the perpetrators expressly chose their targets, or were accused of so choosing them, in order to overturn their liturgical significance – most explicitly so at Yaxley, where the soldiers went on to baptise their captain's horse (Bernard Capp

"Popular Culture and the English Civil War"

p. 35; M. Spufford Small Books and Pleasant Histories p. 184).

Similar sacrilegious pollution of altar steps and pulpits continues today: BBC Radio Four, P.M. Programme, 2 September 1992 .

- 225. list i/32/26/p. 47 (vol. 3)
- 226. see Introduction to Part Two, above .
- 227. list i/32/26/pp. 231, 237, 242 (vol. 3). The chambermaid, Dorothy Pye, was also banished, and got a whipping besides.
- 228. cf. Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic p. 191 .
- 229. list i/32/26/pp. 143f. (vol. 3)
- 230. list i/32/26/p. 144 (vol. 3)
- 231. list i/32/26/f. 390v (vol. 3)
- 232. list i/32/26/p. 101 (vol. 3)
- 233. cons SA p. 38. Breton paraphrased Matthew xxiii 27: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres ...".
- 234. list i/32/26/p. 109 (vol. 3)
- 235. cons SA p. 46, cf. ibid. p. 47
- 236. Philippe (trans.) Livre des Prieres Communes sig. Rr.iv r .



237. C. Marot and T. de Beze Les Pseaumes de David, mis en rime Françoise sig. Niiij. Marot's version of the Ten Commandments occurs, slightly garbled, but including the words mes toulte pallardyse au loing next to the signature N de la Court, perhaps the jurat Nicolas de la Court (1550–73) in list i/52/63/p. 8. Marot and other translators follow Calvin (Institutes II.8.41) in interpreting the Seventh Commandment as a prohibition on all sexual congress outside marriage .
238. Ordonnances p. 24
239. FH 312 p. 310
240. Ordonnances p. 28; list i/33/27/p. 131 (vol. 1)
241. Ordonnances p. 29
242. list i/33/27/p. 148 (vol. 1); Ordonnances p. 84
243. list i/33/27/p. 266 (vol. 1)
244. list i/33/27/p. 285 (vol. 1)
245. list i/33/27/f. 65r (vol. 2)
246. list i/33/27/ff. 232r, 233v (vol. 2)
247. eg. list i/33/27/p. 273 (vol. 1); ibid. ff. 64r, 83v, 112r, 117v, 141r, 158v (vol. 2).
248. Institutes II.8.41
249. Coll. f. 10r
250. Coll. f.13v

- 251. Coll. f. 20v
- 252. Coll. f. 21v
- 253. besides the case of Pierre Rabay referred to above, which had complications.
- 254. Laurence was a popular name for women in Guernsey at this time.
- 255. DWL Quick MSS 38.32 (J. Quick Icones Sacrae Gallicanae). Occurences of the letter y used in the MS to represent the thorn initial have been expanded.

Quick confuses the lives of the ministers Helier Fautrart (d. c. 1629) and his son Daniel. The former served a Jersey parish, and it was Daniel who was minister at S. Pierre Port, from 1634 (de Schickler Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre ii pp. 436, 483, 496). Daniel Fautrart was Baudouin's grandson (MacCulloch Guernsey Folk Lore p. 602).

I am grateful to the Trustees of Dr Williams's Library and Mrs Janet Barnes of the Library for providing access to the Quick MSS, and willingly make the following obligatory declaration:

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- 256. L. Stone The Family, Sex and Marriage in  
England 1500–1800 pp. 31f.; Ingram Church  
Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570–  
1640 p. 132 and ch. 4 passim.
- 257. Ordonnances p. 24
- 258. list i/33/27/p.149 (vol. 1)
- 259. Ordonnances p. 33
- 260. Ordonnances p. 29, cf. Mentzer  
"Ecclesiastical Discipline and Communal  
Reorganization among the Protestants of  
Southern France" pp. 174f.
- 261. list i/33/27/p.148 (vol. 1)
- 262. cf. Monter "The Consistory of Geneva,  
1559–1569" p. 474.

263. Disc (trans) p. 14
264. list i/33/27/f. 165v (vol. 2)
265. Ordonnances p. 84
266. The cases, which are in list i/32/26/pp. 1–127 (vol. 3), are by year and number (in brackets): 1615 (1), 1616 (4), 1617 (3), 1618 (2), 1621 (1), 1622 (1), 1623 (5), 1624 (1), 1627 (5), 1628 (2), 1629–35 (nil). A 1622 case [list i/32/26/p. 227 (vol. 3)] against one Collas Turgis, who got Marthe Alles pregnant on pretext of promising to marry her, exceptionally orders the parties to marry on threat on imprisoning the seducer.
267. E.W. Monter "Women in Calvinist Geneva (1550–1800)" p. 192. In England the authorities were often concerned to identify the fathers of bastards. This seems not to have been a major concern in Guernsey when the Court and Church prosecuted paillardizes.
268. see Chapter One above
269. cf. E. Cameron The European Reformation p. 408 .
270. cf. K. Thomas "The Double Standard" passim .



271. APC xvii p. 63
272. cf. K. Thomas "Age and Authority in Early Modern England" pp. 207–214 et passim .
273. it should also be said that the Court acted with still greater ferocity in respect of those offenders who were perceived as revolting against the natural order by committing acts of bestiality. Three cases are recorded in the period 1611–35, for which a man was banished in 1619 and another two hanged and burned in 1630 and 1633 respectively. The animals involved were also felled and incinerated with some ceremony [list i/32/26/p. 141 (vol. 3), list i/32/26/f. 398v (vol. 3), list i/32/26/p. 45 (vol. 4)]. cf. J. Liliequist "Peasants against Nature" passim; E.P. Evans The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals pp. 147–153; K. Thomas Man and the Natural World pp. 39, 97f., 134.

I have found no prosecutions for homosexual activities, although slander cases over the insult bougre are common. Whilst not denying the existence of homosexual acts, I am reminded on Lucien Febvre's conclusions

concerning atheism – namely that if the crime did not go unmentioned, its actual practice was beyond popular comprehension. Buggery is not mentioned in the Approbation des Lois (1583) or Terrien's Commentaires of 1574, the standard authorities on Guernsey's law in this period. cf. Sharpe Early Modern England: a social history 1550–1760 p. 47.

- 274. T. Cartwright The Second Replie of Thomas Cartwright quoted in K. Thomas "The Puritans and Adultery: the Act of 1650 reconsidered" p. 260 .
- 275. Thomas "The Puritans and Adultery" pp. 271f.
- 276. Disc. (trans) p. 2
- 277. these sources do, of course, present the "worst scenario", concerned as they are with anti-social behaviour, but the repetition of legislation especially suggests that problems were not perceived as diminishing .
- 278. Coll. f. 103v
- 279. list i/33/27/f. 17v (vol. 3)
- 280. Underdown Fire from Heaven p. 83
- 281. Thomas "Age and Authority in Early Modern

- England" p. 225.
282. G. Parker "Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation" p. 67.
283. Parker "Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation" p. 69 .
284. this manufacture which went on at vueilles perhaps accounts in part for the blind eye which the Court turned to them. The Court's social group and its members themselves may often have been involved in the "putting out" of wool for spinning and knitting, as discussed in the next chapter.
285. C. Trumbull "The Diary of Charles Trumbull" p. 580 .
286. I. Mather "The Autobiography of Increase Mather" p. 283 .
287. le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions, sur l'Approbation des Lois i pp. 124f.
288. le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions, sur l'Approbation des Lois ii p. 171.
289. quoted in A. Spicer "Presbyterian Disorders: the state of religion on Guernsey, 1582" p. 641.
290. Sir Francis Bacon on Elizabeth I, quoted in Guy Tudor England p. 296 .

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Ordonnances p. 58
2. Ordonnances p. 63
3. Ordonnances pp. 86f., cf. BL Sloane 2446 f. 4r.
4. list i/33/27/f. 279r (vol. 2)
5. list i/33/27/f. 287r (vol. 2)
6. list i/33/27/f. 370r (vol. 2); list i/33/27/f. 5v (vol. 3).
7. list i/33/27/f. 17r. (vol. 3)
8. these pages are bound at the back of list i/32/24 (clameurs de haro).
9. Ordonnances p. 92
10. list i/33/27/f. 279r (vol. 2)
11. P. Slack "Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England" p. 222.
12. P. Slack Poverty & Policy in Tudor & Stuart England pp. 118f.
13. Ordonnances p. 63



14. Ordonnances p. 92
15. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 303
16. Ordonnances p. 63
17. F.G. Emmison Elizabethan Life: home, work and land pp. 146, 158.
18. Ordonnances pp. 18f. cf. le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions i p. 125.
19. list i/33/27/p. 131 (vol. 1)
20. Ordonnances p. 59
21. Ordonnances p. 60
22. 1606 document bound in list i/32/24
23. Sharpe Early Modern England: a social history 1550–1760 pp. 209f.
24. IAS: DC/HX–61–5 f. 54v
25. S.R. Gardiner History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate iii pp. 309f. n. 1.
26. James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i p. 371.

27. Coll. f. 72v. cf. list i/33/27/f. 195v (vol. 2) [1 October 1604]. Dr James has found that the plague of 1604 killed 161 of the French and Walloon community of Southampton – James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i p. 349.
28. Godfray (ed.) Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a Southampton passim, and see below.
29. James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i pp. 355–366 .
30. James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i pp. 404, 409. [list iv]/14/3 refers to accounts concerning the apprenticeship of one Nicollas Maugeur – not a pauper – in Southampton c. 1614.
31. F.J.C. Hearnshaw & D.M. Hearnshaw (eds) Southampton Court Leet Records, A.D. 1578–1602 ii p. 228. I am grateful to Andrew Spicer for sending me a copy of this

entry.

32. James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i p. 404; ibid. p. 374.
33. McGrath A Life of John Calvin p. 80; R.M. Kingdon "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva" p. 60.
34. see, especially, Institutes iii.5.6–10.
35. M. Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism p. 115.
36. Davis Society and Culture in Early Modern France pp. 57, 289 n. 164 quoting a letter of Claude Monier published in Crespin's Martyrs.
37. Disc (trans) p. 29, my emphasis.
38. Slack Poverty & Policy in Tudor & Stuart England p. 126.
39. Ordonnances p. 64
40. Ordonnances p. 93
41. Ordonnances p. 59. cf le Marchant Remarques et Animadversions i p. 125. The

sole responsibility assumed by the Church also accounts for the provision in the Code of 1611 (Ordonnances p. 92) that the Church was liable for the costs of corporal punishment of beggars.

42. Disc. 1576 p. 333; Disc. 1597 p. 7
43. Disc (trans) pp. 8
44. c. 1651 the parish of S. Martin had four deacons, one for each quarter of the parish: cons SM, entry between 22 December 1650 and 13 June 1652.
45. Coll. f. 5v
46. The S. Pierre Port poor accounts from 1634 are IAS: DC/HX-61-5. Internal evidence indicates that an extraordinary account also was kept, but the ledger is now lost.
47. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 13r
48. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 24r
49. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 27r
50. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 33v
51. Ordonnances p. 417



52. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 5r
53. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 25r
54. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 35v
55. Ordonnances p. 94
56. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 29r
57. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 29r. In 1640 cloth for the Guernsey poor was bought from Jean Guillaume  fils  Michel, a Southampton merchant. (IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 23v). This probably is the merchant who made the bequest the next year. He very likely was of a Huguenot family, and may plausibly be identified with the Jehan Guillaume named in 1619 in the register of the French Church at the town. (Godfray [ed.] Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a Southampton p. 59) Guillaume had taken on a Guernsey apprentice (although not a pauper) in 1623. (A.J. Willis and A.L. Merson [eds] A Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers 1609-1740 p. 12).

Another bequest from Southampton to the Guernsey poor, of thirty livres, was made by

the merchant Pierre Pryaux in 1650: IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 57r. He too had taken on a Guernsey apprentice in 1623: Willis and Merson (eds) op. cit. p. 12. Like Guillaume's, Pryaux's name is to be found in the register of the French Church at Southampton: Godfray (ed.) Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a Southampton p. 114 .

58. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 57r
  59. Actes pp. 85-87
  60. on which see Beier Masterless Men pp. 164-169 .
  61. Disc (trans) p. 8
  62. R. Mols "Population in Europe 1500-1700" p. 47; Slack Poverty & Policy in Tudor & Stuart England p. 76 .
  63. list i/33/27/f. 47v (vol. 2)
  64. Priaulx: microfilm of Elie Brévint's notebooks, fasc. 7, penultimate page. For original and date, see Sark Calendar Bb/2/7.
- It had been complained in 1607 (Commission 1607 i p. 42) that the "house

and chapel depending of the hospital of St. Julian" had been conveyed by the Governor to one Henry Macham. This possibly refers to the greater part of the property. The property referred to by Brévint was eventually sold by the parish to a Jean Munday at a date between 1686 and 1706 – Constables' Office, S. Peter Port: livres de perchage of fief le Roi, S. Pierre Port, 1686, 1706 (photocopies at IAS).

65. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 23v. Other references to the acquisition of cloth for the poor are at ibid. ff. 33v (bis), 35v (bis), 37v, 41v, 43v, 49v. See also ibid. f. 48v which records individuals being given cash to buy clothes. In 1647 several of the parishes, including S. Pierre Port, even clubbed together to buy cloth for Masson, the minister of Alderney, to make an habit et manteau – ibid. f. 47r.
66. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 ff. 31r, 48r, 58r.
67. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 40r
68. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 45v. Receipts for similar church door collections are at ibid. ff.

52v-53r.

69. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 ff. 27v-28r. cf. Actes pp. 175-177; Syvret and Stevens Balleine's History of Jersey p. 104; Appleby "The Channel Islands and the Newfoundland Fishery during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" p. 474; D.F. Lamb "The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century" i p. 37.
70. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 45v
71. list i/30/1/ff. 182v-183v (date vol. 20) (registration of 25 October 1706). The fund survives today.
72. Appendix Five, graph D; see also Tupper Chronicles of Castle Cornet pp. 61, 304 .
73. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 40v. This might be the Parliamentarian fugitive Ellie cheuallier referred to by Jean Chevalier Journal de Jean Chevalier p. 107.
74. IAS: DC/HX-61-5 f. 55v.
75. Davis Society and Culture in Early Modern France p. 37 .



76. C. Hill Puritanism and Revolution p. 228
77. Thomas Religion and the Decline of Magic p. 696.
78. James "The Geographical Origins and Mobility of the Inhabitants of Southampton 1400–1600" i pp. 407–410.
79. Godfray (ed.) Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a Southampton pp. 5, 4, 4f, 7, 101; the dates these jurats held office are drawn from list ii/pp. 152–156. I am grateful to Andrew Spicer for sending me his computer analysis of attenders at the Southampton cene etc.
80. Godfray (ed.) Registre ... de l'Eglise Wallonne ... a Southampton p. 101.
81. Carey et al History of the Careys of Guernsey pp. 70, 73 .
82. on the de Saumarez and Martin merchants, see Carey "Notes concerning the Owners of the Various Merchants' Marks" pp. 302–305. The terms of office of jurats referred to in

this and the next paragraph are taken from list ii/pp. 152–156 as respects the sixteenth century, and from Berry History of Guernsey pp. 198–201 as respects the seventeenth century.

83. J. deL. Mann "A Guernsey Merchant of the Commonwealth Period" passim .
84. sketches of merchants' marks in list i/54/87–90. On de Quetteville see also Carey (ed.) "Notes concerning the Owners of the Various Merchants' Marks" p. 307.
85. Carey "Notes concerning the Owners of the Various Merchants' Marks" p. 312.
86. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering, 1500–1689" passim .
87. Heylyn A Full Relation pp. 297–299; cf. C. Trumbull "The Journal of Charles Trumbull" pp. 571–576 .
88. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering, 1500–1689" p. 77.
89. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 299.

90. T.F. Priaulx "The Guernsey Stocking Export Trade in the 17th Century"; cf. F. W[earis] News from the Channel p. 6; Mann "A Guernsey Merchant of the Commonwealth Period" pp. 220f.
91. Actes p. 41
92. J. Thirsk "The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: the English stocking knitting industry, 1500–1700" p. 70; Lamb "The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the first half of the Seventeenth Century" i pp. 61–67. On Guernsey's considerable trade with Southampton in the period generally, see ibid. i pp. 205–251; ii pp. 252–329, 372–383.
93. Actes p. 181
94. Actes p. 84
95. Carey "Notes concerning the Owners of the Various Merchants' Marks" p. 314. Le Marchant's death on 9 May 1620 is recorded at list i/52/64/p.25.
96. For Samuel de la Place's problems as a Protestant factor living in Catholic Malaga,

see Elie Brévint's notebook, fasc. 9, three ff.  
from the end (microfilm at Priaulx, original  
Sark Calendar Bb/2/9).

97. Appleby "Neutrality, Trade and Privateering,  
1500–1689" p. 91.
98. Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of  
Capitalism passim. There has been  
considerable and continuing debate on  
Weber's thesis. See particularly E. Fischhoff  
"The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of  
Capitalism: the history of a controversy";  
Tawney Religion and the Rise of Capitalism;  
M.J. Kitch (ed.) Capitalism and the  
Reformation; C. Hill "Protestantism and the  
Rise of Capitalism"; C. Hill Society and  
Puritanism in Pre-revolutionary England ch.  
4; H.R. Trevor-Roper Religion, the  
Reformation and Social Change ch. 1; H.  
Luthy "Variations on a Theme by Max  
Weber"; McGrath A Life of John Calvin ch.  
11; P. Seaver "The Puritan Work Ethic  
Revisited".
99. Tupper Chronicles of Castle Cornet p. 45.



cf. Heylyn A Full Relation p. 294.

100. Priaulx "The Guernsey Stocking Export Trade in the 17th.Century" p. 210 .
101. B. Hamilton Religion in the Medieval West p. 137; Bossy Christianity in the West 1400–1700 pp. 76f.
102. Tawney Religion and the Rise of Capitalism p. 115.
103. Kitch (ed) Capitalism and the Reformation p. 123.
104. G. Parker "The Emergence of Modern Finance in Europe, 1500–1730" pp. 539f.
105. Ordonnances pp. 141–143.
106. Ordonnances pp. 150f. cf. Lee (ed.) Note=book of Pierre le Roy p. 16 .
107. This compares with Calvin's own attempts in the 1540s to encourage the Genevan cloth industry through capital investment: McGrath A Life of John Calvin p. 231.
108. Hill Society and Puritanism in Pre=revolutionary England p. 126.

109. McGrath A Life of John Calvin p. 240.
110. William Perkins Works ii p. 150 quoted in Hill Puritanism and Revolution p. 225.
111. R. Young The Poores' Advocate (1654) p. 6, quoted by Tawney Religion and the Rise of Capitalism p. 264.
112. Disc (trans) p. 2, my emphasis .

## NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Muchembled Popular Culture and Elite Culture in France p. 126.
2. Davis "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion" pp. 327f.
3. Fletcher Tudor Rebellions p. 1.
4. Disc (trans) p. 29 .
5. Disc (trans) p. 2 .
6. see the Introduction to Part Two, above.

## 2. APPENDICES



## Appendix One

### A List of Sixteenth-century Fraternities and Lights

1. Where records refer to lights at particular churches the existence of fraternities which maintained them can sometimes be inferred. This conclusion is supported, for example, by the case of a foundation at the church of S. André dedicated to S. Maur. This is in one place called a fraternity and in another referred to a lumynaire, despite the latter source mentioning its batonnier. (cf. Scarisbrick The Reformation and the English People pp. 26f.). The relatively large amount of revenue dedicated to the lumynaires of S. Nicolas, Ste Catherine, Toussaints and Notre Dame du Cierge at the church of S. Pierre du Bois suggests that these too had fraternities attached.

Certainly it can be stated that lights were supported by associations of people, sometimes fraternities. To exercise proper caution though, where a light is mentioned in this list and there is no certain evidence that it was kept by a cognominal fraternity, the fact is noted.

2. The dates of records evidencing the existence of

fraternities and lights – whether dates at which they were active or after suppression – are also noted. In the cases of hyphenated dates, these refer to confession documents, which were drawn up over several years.

## Church

## Fraternity

S. Pierre Port

Cherite (also called du Bellefroy) 1531, 1547 <sup>1</sup>

Notre Dame 1534, 1539, 1541, 1549, c. 1563 <sup>2</sup>

Toussaints c. 1563 <sup>3</sup>

S. Osmounde c. 1563 <sup>4</sup>

S. George c. 1563 <sup>5</sup>

S. Michel du Valle

S. Nicolas 1522 <sup>6</sup>

? Ste Barbe 1528 <sup>7</sup>

Jesus and Notre Dame 1529 <sup>8</sup>

Toussaints 1508, c. 1563 <sup>9</sup>

S. Thomas 1508 <sup>10</sup>

Ste Katherine c. 1563 <sup>11</sup>

S. Michel c. 1563 <sup>12</sup>

Remembrances c. 1563 <sup>13</sup>

Ste Marie du Castel

Ste Barbe 1515 <sup>14</sup>

Crucifix 1518 <sup>15</sup>

Notre Dame de la

Quete des Vescs early

16th century <sup>16</sup>

Notre Dame de la Pitie

1540, 1563, c. 1563,

1569 <sup>17</sup>

Notre Dame de

Dimanche 1563 <sup>18</sup>

S. Gatian 1510 <sup>19</sup>

Ste Catherine 1515,

1548, 1563 <sup>20</sup>

Jesus 1515, 1563, 1567

<sup>21</sup>

S. Sauveur

S. Jean l'Evangeliste

1511-25, 1547, c. 1563

<sup>22</sup>

Sacrament 1528 <sup>23</sup>

Notre Dame des Clers

1502, 1515, 1530, 1536,

c. 1563, 1581 <sup>24</sup>

S. Nicholas 1503 <sup>25</sup>

Jesus c. 1563 <sup>26</sup>



S. Pierre du Bois

Jesus 1499, 1512–20,  
1526–32, 1520–23,  
1541, 1549, 1551, 1560,  
1561, c. 1563, 1581 <sup>27</sup>

Notre Dame 1560, c.  
1563 <sup>28</sup>

Toussaints (light) 1512–  
22 <sup>29</sup>

S. Nicollas (light) 1517–  
21 <sup>30</sup>

Ste Catherine (light)  
1517–21 <sup>31</sup>

du Cierge de Grace  
(light) 1519–27 <sup>32</sup>

Ste Marie de Torteval

Toussaints 1581 <sup>33</sup>

S. Nicollas 1581 <sup>34</sup>

Notre Dame 1581 <sup>35</sup>

S. Martin

Jesus 1527–30, 1532–  
36, 1534, 1538, 1547, c.  
1563 <sup>36</sup>

Notre Dame 1527,  
1538, 1539 <sup>37</sup>

S. Nicolles c. 1563 <sup>38</sup>

La Trinité de la Forêt

Trinite 1581 <sup>39</sup>

Jesus 1534, 1536 <sup>40</sup>

Tousaints 1581 <sup>41</sup>

Notre Dame c. 1563,  
1581 <sup>42</sup>

Ste Marguerite 1581 <sup>43</sup>

S. André

Notre Dame 1512–23,  
1515–18, 1514, 1517–  
44, 1538, c. 1563 <sup>44</sup>

Jesus 1541, 1546, 1563  
<sup>45</sup>

S. Mor 1541, 1549,  
1550 <sup>46</sup>

Ste Katherine (light) c.  
1563 <sup>47</sup>

S. Nicholas c. 1563 <sup>48</sup>

The Chapelle de l'Epine in the parish of S. Michel du Valle had a Jesus fraternity.<sup>49</sup> A fraternity of S. Gergon (S. Gorgo of Tours) is mentioned, without parish, in an account of 1528.<sup>50</sup> I have found no fraternities at the church of S. Samson, although very likely there were some. The revenues of the lights there were sold by commissioners after 1567, as described in Chapter Four.

## Notes to Appendix One

1. list ii/48/307; list ii/55/359
2. list ii/117/165; list i/31/13/f.64r (vol. 1); list ii/54/346; list ii/58/389; Cecil 207/12
3. Cecil 207/12
4. Cecil 207/12
5. Cecil 207/12
6. typescript List of Registers and Records at the Vale Church, Guernsey (copy at the church) p. 31
7. ibid. p. 31, where an altar of Ste Barbe is referred to
8. ibid. p. 20
9. list i/76/1/f. 2r; Cecil 207/12
10. list i/76/1/f. 1r
11. Cecil 207/12
12. Cecil 207/12
13. Cecil 207/12

14. list i/52/63/p. 1
15. ibid. p. 77
16. ibid. p. 31. This name seems to mean "Our Lady of the gathering of the tares", which would be an interesting and appropriate name, bringing together Matthew 13 xxiv–xxx and the supplicatory role of the fraternity. I am grateful to Dr Harry Tomlinson for discussing this translation with me
17. list i/31/13/f. 67r (vol. 1); list ii/94/9; Cecil 207/12; list i/52/63/p. 14
18. list ii/94/9
19. list i/52/63/p. 28
20. ibid. p. 1; list i/31/13/f. 95v (vol. 1); list ii/94/9
21. [list iv]/281/3; list ii/94/9; list ii/126/241
22. list ii/34/191; list i/76/2/f. 72v; Cecil 207/12
23. list i/31/13/f. 9r (vol. 2); list i/31/13/f. 13v (vol. 3)
24. list ii/31/360; list iii/62/3; [list iv]/14/1/p. 66; list i/33/27/p. 325 (vol. 1); Cecil 207/12; FH 311 p. 122; cf. Commission 1607 i p. 58



25. list ii/32/164
26. Cecil 207/12
27. list i/87/3 (nineteenth-century copies by G.E. Lee, for loss of originals see list ii/p.5); list iii/107/3; list iii/95/2; list i/31/13/f. 95v (vol. 3); ibid. f. 124v; ibid. f. 127r; ibid. f. 134r; Cecil 207/12; FH 311 p. 124
28. list i/31/13/f. 127r (vol. 3); Cecil 207/12
29. list i/87/3
30. ibid.
31. ibid.
32. ibid.
33. FH 311 p. 123; list i/31/13/f. 18r (vol. 3) – where it is called a lumynere in 1529
34. FH 311 p. 123
35. ibid.
36. original documents presently at S. Martin's Rectory, copied in list i/87/3; list i/31/13/f. 59r (vol. 1 –n.b. two ff. are numbered 59); ibid. f. 90r; list i/31/13/f. 36r (vol. 4); ibid. f. 37r;

Cecil 207/12

37. list i/31/13/f. 5r (vol. 4); list i/31/13/f. 61r (vol. 1); list ii/118/172. There was a reference to notre dame Chandelleur at this church in 1566: list i/33/27/p. 250 (vol. 1)
38. Cecil 207/12
39. FH 311 p. 117
40. list i/31/13/f. 39v (vol. 1); list i/31/13/f. 36v (vol. 4); ibid. f. 42r
41. FH 311 p. 117
42. Cecil 207/12; FH 311 p. 117
43. FH 311 p. 117
44. list i/87/3; list i/31/13/f. 61r (vol. 3); Cecil 207/12
45. list ii/94/9; list i/31/13/f. 58r (vol. 4); list i/31/13/f. 81v (vol. 3)
46. list i/31/13/f. 46v (vol. 2); list i/31/13/f. 100r (vol. 1); list i/31/13/f. 71v (vol. 3); list i/31/13/f. 72r (vol. 4); cf. Commission 1607 i p. 61

47. Cecil 207/12
48. Cecil 207/12
49. list i/31/13/f. 50v (vol. 1); list iii/95/1
50. [list iv]/14/1/p. 62

## Appendix Two

### Elite Protestants c. 1565

This table lists the names of those people who were conveyed Crown property by the Commissioners appointed in May 1563 and who are named in a catalogue of souche parcelles of the Quenes majesties Landes in Garnsey as are letten there in fee ferme which forms part of the Commissioners' report. (Cecil 207/12)

The table goes on to demonstrate how several of these individuals were members of the consistory established at S. Pierre Port in the same year. (FH 312 pp. 306f.)

Finally it shows that some of them were advanced to secular office shortly after that. (list ii/pp. 152-156)



Name	Property ceded by commissioners	First recorded presence at consistory	Secular office held (dates)
Nicolas Careye senior	(1) field at "Vauquiedor", (2) bordage "Allineuar", (3) land at "livhvruse" with permit to erect windmill, (4) land & "a ponde place to kepe watter in to errect and buyldde up a mill againne as in tymes past", S. André		jurat (c. 1544- 1565)
Nicolas de Saus- marez	close - "Godmettes"	6 April 1564 (deacon)	jurat (1565- 1598)
Thomas le Marchant	(1) mill - "Moullin de hault", (2) bordage "Durant" (3) bordage "Puisson" and adjoining decayed mill site, S. Pierre du Bois	17 May 1563 (deacon 6 April 1564)	jurat (1565- 1569)

cont'd ...

Appendix two (continued):

Name	Property ceded by commissioners	First recorded presence at consistory	Secular office held (dates)
Nicolas Martin <u> fils</u> Pierres	mill - "le moullin delle- sschelle"	17 May 1563	jurat (1565- 1581)
Guillaume de Beauvoir	(1) bordage "Belle Filles <u> alias</u> Roungefer", (2) land at "Etibos"	17 May 1563	jurat (1565- 1571)  bailiff (1572- 1581)
the children of Nicolas Guille	land at "Poubele" (Pouquelaye?)		
Nicolas de la Court	(1) bordage "a la vrangge", (2) bordage "de la trousse"	17 May 1563	jurat (1550- 1573)
Nicolas Careye junior	(1) fief Blanchelande, (2) a decayed mill site, Forêt	17 May 1563	
Gaspard Ollivier	mill - "the myddell mill"	17 May 1563 (scribe)	greffier (1550- )
Helier de Carteret	the island of Sark		

cont'd ...

Appendix two (continued):

Name	Property ceded by commissioners	First recorded presence at consistory	Secular office held (dates)
Jean Herivel	bordage "Cornet"		
Jean Larmitte	land at "Havellet"		
Nicolas le Perre	land west of a <u>hougue</u> at "S..." [?]		
Jean Hamelin	land at S. Michel du Valle		
Giret Ogier	"landes lyeng in dyverse parcelles & in grete daunger to be wasted with the see ... sum tyme parcell of the fee legatt", S. Samson		
[not stated]	lands - "Forfait- ure of John de France", S. Sauveur		

cont'd ...

Appendix two (continued):

Name	Property ceded by commissioners	First recorded presence at consistory	Secular office held (dates)
Thomas Effart	"certein parcels of grounde", S. Sauveur	17 May 1563	jurat (1558- 1580)
Jean Blondel senior	ground - "le Signiorye"		[? jurat 1539- 1565]
Richard Bisson	land at "le fosse au Corleu", Ste Marie du Castel		



### Appendix Three

#### The Protestant Royal Court, 1565

This table demonstrates the religious sympathies of nine of those men who were, or who became, members of the Royal Court in August 1565. (sources: FH 312 pp. 306f.; list ii/pp. 152-156)

Name	First recorded presence at consistory	Appointment to Royal Court
Thomas Compton ( <u>bailiff</u> )	17 May 1563	1563
<u>jurats:</u>		
Pierres Henry	-	1547
Nicolas de la Court	17 May 1563	1550
Thomas Effart	17 May 1563	1558

cont'd

Appendix three (continued):

Name	First recorded presence at consistory	Appointment to Royal Court
James Guille	-	1560
Jean Blondel <u>file</u> Collas	-	1561
Nicolas Pageot	17 May 1563	1565
Nicolas Martin senior, <u>file</u> Pierre	17 May 1563	1565
Nicolas Gosselin	-	1565
Thomas le Marchant	17 May 1563	1565
Guillaume de Beauvoir	17 May 1563	1565
Nicolas de Saus marez	6 April 1564	1565
Nicolas le Mesurier	27 May 1563	1565

# Appendix Four

## Royal Court convictions for paillardize and adultery 1565-1635

(w indicates one woman; m, one man. The indication [f] is added if the record states that the offender originated outside Guernsey, and [c], if the record states that the offender bore or sired a child or children).

### A. Convictions for paillardize and adultery in the register Jugements &c. 1565-1614

(Three cases of infanticide which mention paillardize have been omitted, a single case of a couple "trouvey ... couches ensemble une nuyct" has been included)

<u>period</u>	<u>convictions</u> <u>for paillardize</u>	<u>convictions</u> <u>for adultery</u>
1565-69	wn[f]	nil
1570-74	wwwwwwww mn[f]	nn
1575-79	nil	wwww
1580-84	nil	nil
1585-89	www[c] m[f]	m
1590-94	wwwwwww[c]w[c]	nil
1595-99	www[f]w[f]w[f]	nil
1600-04	wwwww[c]w[c] w[c]w[c]w[f]w[f] nn[f][c]	nil
1605-09	w[f]m[c]	nil

cont'd...

1610-14

ww[c]w[f]w[f]  
w[c]w[c]w[c]  
w[c][f]

ww

Totals 1565-1614:

1. convictions of women for paillardize: 49 (of whom 9 are recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and 11 as having had a child or children)
2. convictions of men for paillardize: 7 (of whom 4 are recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and 2 as having sired a child)
3. convictions of women for adultery: 5 (of whom nil are recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and nil having had a child or children)
4. convictions of men for adultery: 5 (of whom nil are recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and nil having sired a child)

Sources:

list 1/33/27/pp. 244-308, 389-479  
(vol 1); ibid, ff. 1r-274r (vol.  
2). (1565-1615) cont'd...



B.                                   Convictions for  
paillardize and adultery in the register Crime  
1615-35

(includes a single conviction for getting a woman of unknown status pregnant, and four cases of men ordered to pay maintenance for their illegitimate children. A single case of infanticide which mentions paillardize has been omitted.)

<u>period</u>	<u>convictions</u> <u>for paillardize</u>	<u>convictions</u> <u>for adultery</u>
1615-20	w[c]w[c]w[c] w[c]w[c][f]w[c] n[c]m[c]w[c]	nil
1621-25	w[c]m[c]m[c]w[c] n[c]w[c]m[c]m[c]	nil

cont'd ...

1626-30                      w[c]w[c]w[c]w[c]                      nil

w[c]m[c][f]w[c][f]

w[c]w

1631-35                      m[c]w[c]w[c]w[c]                      nil

w[c]

Totals 1615-35:

1. convictions of women for paillardize: 22 (of whom  
2 are recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and  
21 as having had a child or children)
2. convictions of men for paillardize: 9 (of whom one  
is recorded as originating outside Guernsey, and 5  
as having sired a child)
3. convictions for adultery: nil

Source:

list 1/32/26/pp. 1-127 (vol 3)  
(1611-35)

## Appendix Five

### Graphs

Graphs A - D

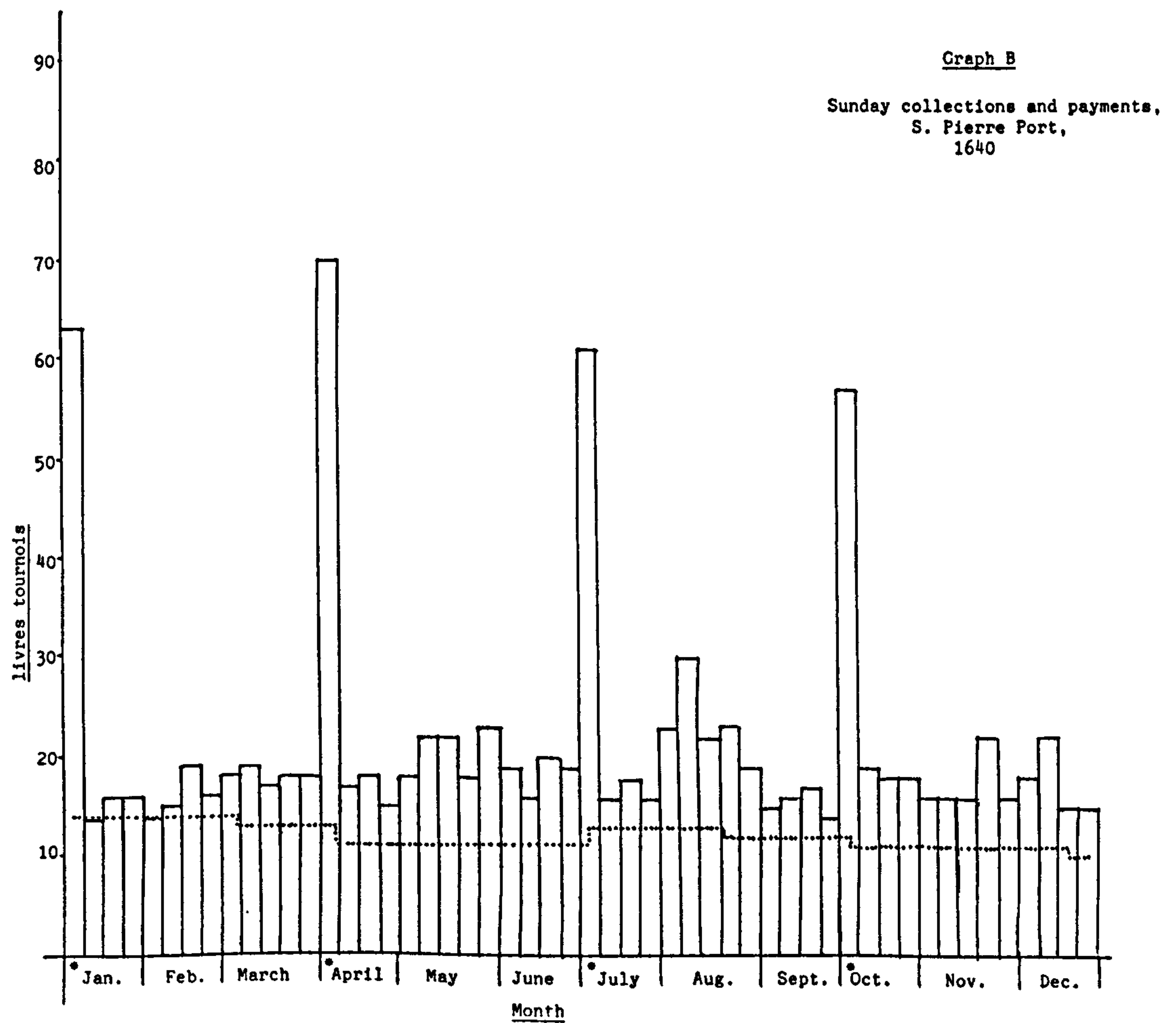
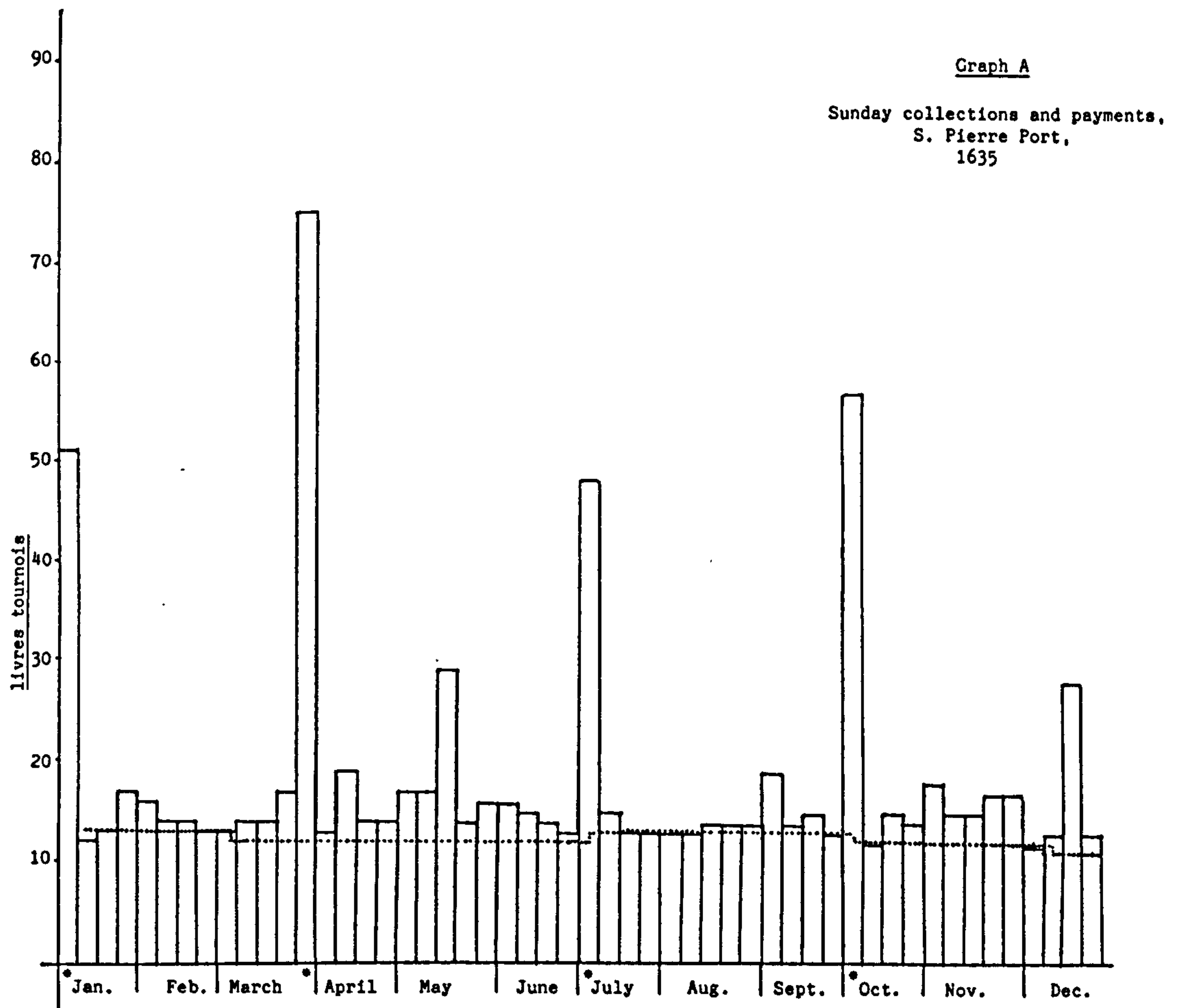
show weekly amounts of Sunday collections received and payments made therefrom at S. Pierre Port for 1635, 1640, 1645 and 1650. The blocks indicate sums collected, the dotted line sums paid out. Occasions of the cene are asterisked.

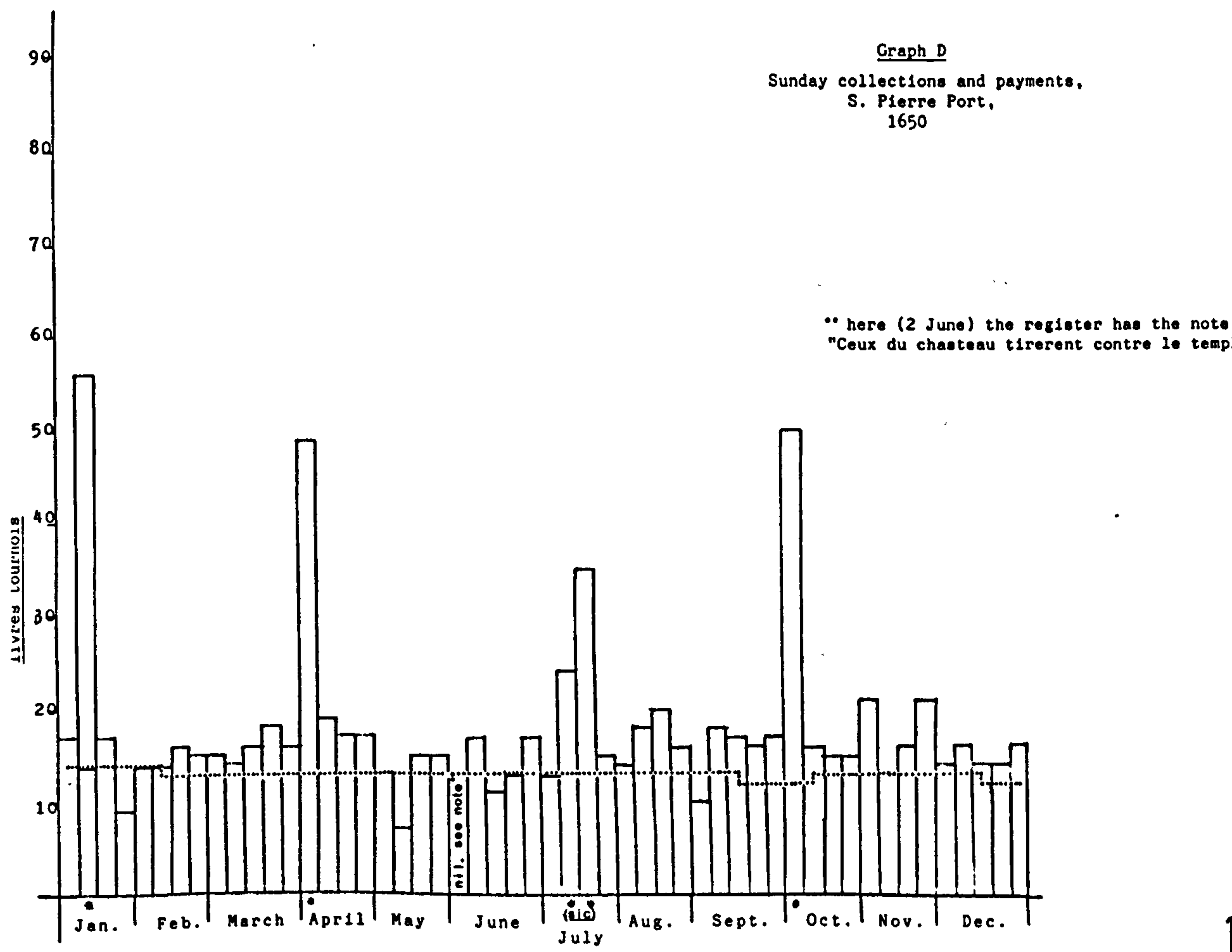
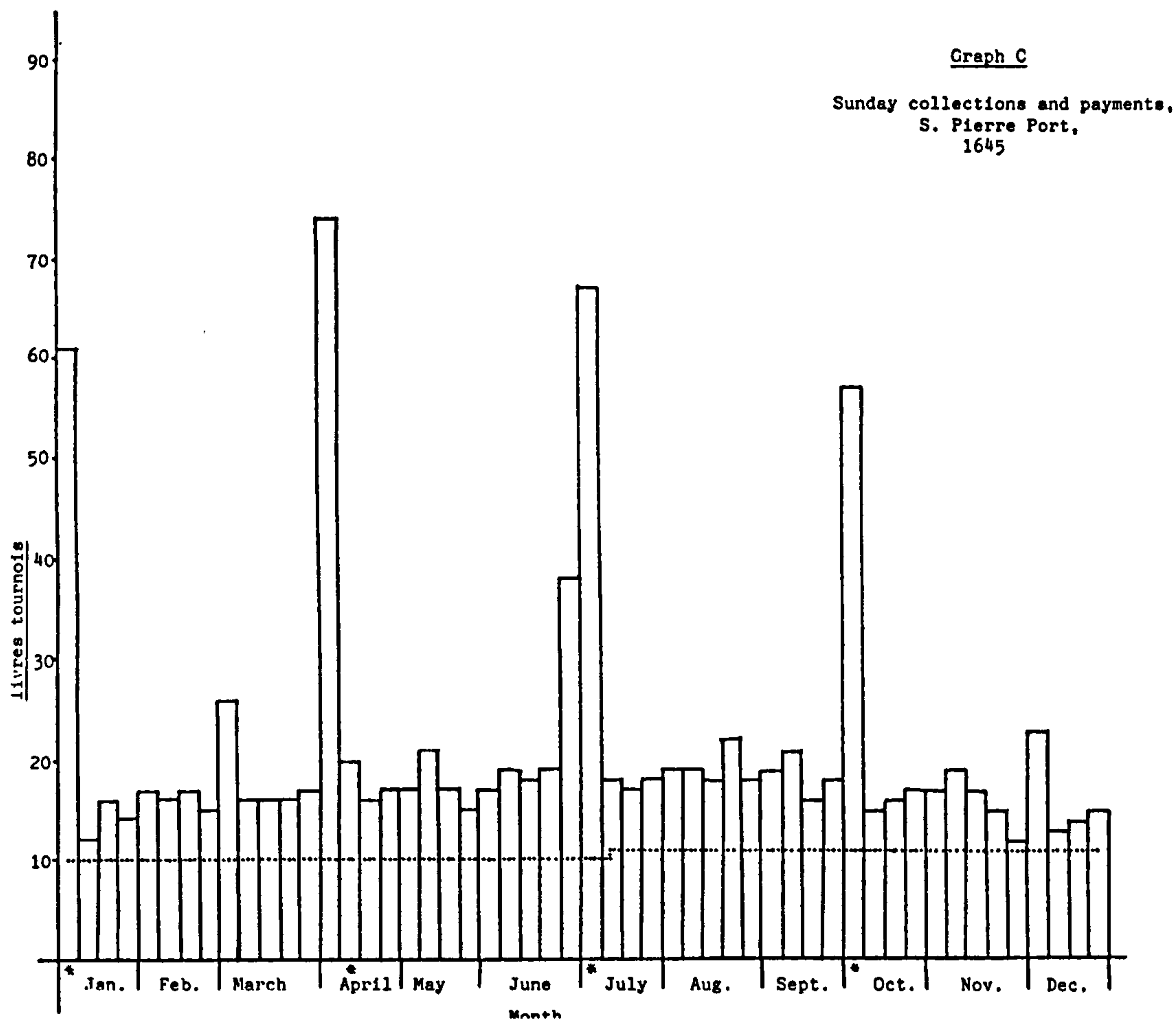
Graph E

shows quarterly totals of people who received payments out of collections at S. Pierre Port 1635-50. On the blocks hatching signifies men, white areas women, and spotted, children. The notes to this graph are on the page following it.

source: IAS DC/HX-61-5

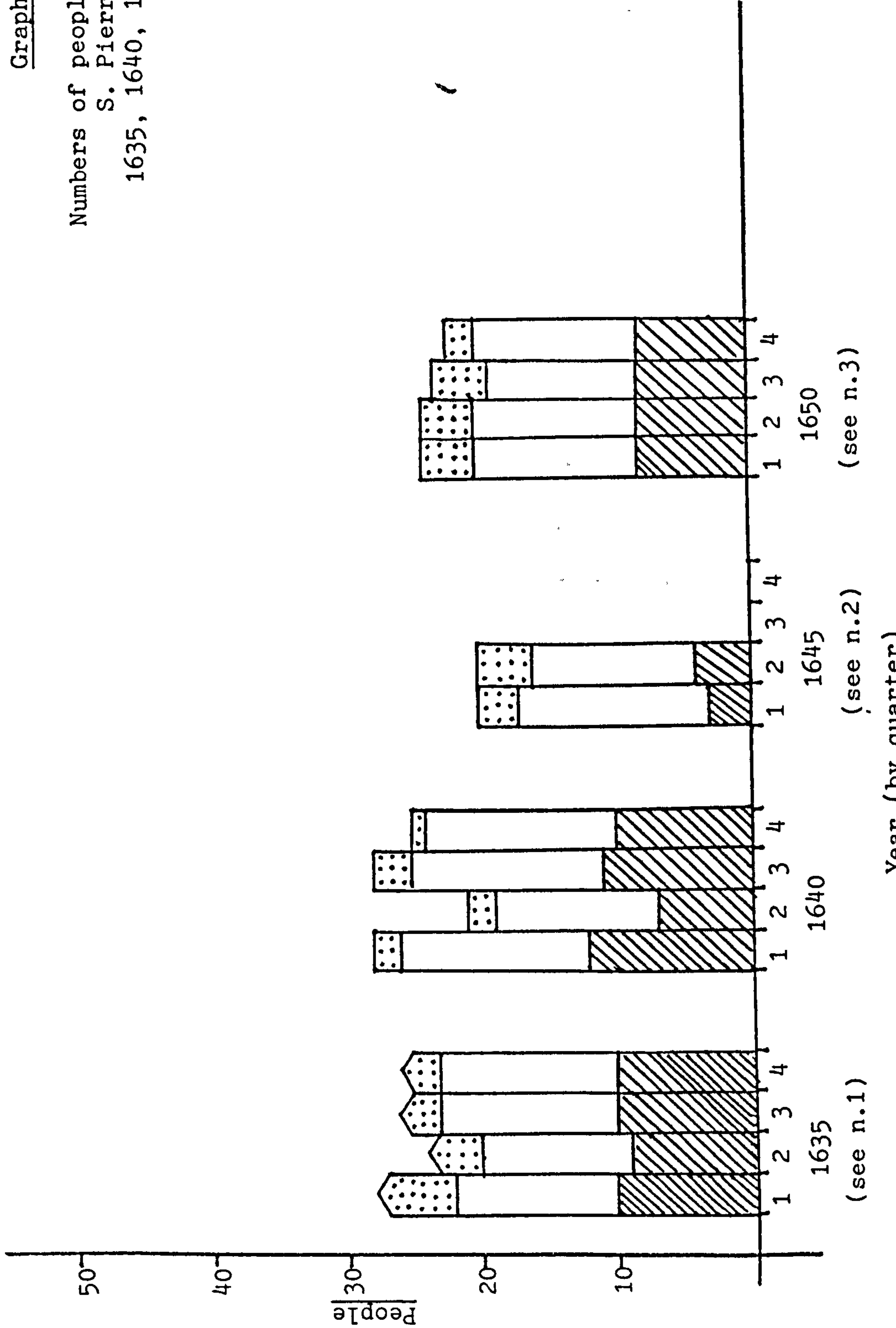






Graph E

Numbers of people receiving payments,  
S. Pierre Port,  
1635, 1640, 1645, 1650



(see n.1)

(see n.2)

(see n.3)

Graph E: notes

1. the numbers of payments made in 1635 in respect of children cannot be pinpointed, since the accounts include payments to the guardians of two families of an unknown number of children, perhaps orphans.
2. the register omits statistics for the last two quarters of 1645.
3. payments were made to three married couples throughout 1650. Since similar payments in other years may have been recorded solely under husbands' names they have been recorded here just as payments to individual men.



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(for abbreviations used here please  
refer to the list at the front of  
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